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ABSTRACT

These materials, gathered through an intensive review of computer searches in sociopsychological and criminal justice databases, library holdings at Ohio State University, publications from the National Criminal Justice Reference Service, and telephone/mail contacts with state and country probation systems, examine issues in probation management including techniques, administration, and program efficiency and effectiveness. Several major issues are identified including: (1) the role of probation officers; (2) placement of probation services; (3) casework and brokerage strategies for assessing client needs and linking available community resources; and (4) the use of volunteers and paraprofessionals. Other topics of concern addressed by this review reveal that probation officers spend a great deal of time with paperwork and that probation is cheaper that institutionalization. (Author/HLM)

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Critical Issues in Adult Probation

Issues in Probation Management

by
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September 1979

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
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ABSTRACT

This literature review examines issues in probation management including techniques, administration, and the efficiency and effectiveness of the various techniques.

Several major issues in probation management are identified, including the proper role of probation officers (punitive, therapeutic, or passive), and the placement of probation services -- whether centralized or decentralized (centralized, state-administered agencies are free of pressures from local politics and can deliver more uniform and evenly divided services and resources, but decentralized agencies can solicit more community participation). The provision of probation services, another issue discussed in the review, focuses on casework. In addressing techniques for handling cases, the review discusses the brokerage strategy -- a technique for assessing client needs and linking available community resources with those needs.

The use of both paraprofessionals and volunteers is a central concern of this volume. Research indicates that paraprofessionals are effective particularly in cases involving "high risk" clients, and that the use of volunteers can result in large cost savings. Caseload management issues are also reviewed, but insufficient research makes it difficult to assess the effectiveness of various assignment techniques, levels of supervision, and generalized vs. specialized caseloads.

The review also reveals that (1) most probation officers spend most of their time in their offices doing paperwork; (2) although the cost effectiveness of many alternatives to incarceration is not known, probation is cheaper than institutionalization; (3) education and training benefits decrease over time for probation officers; and (4) probation departments, local and state, keep large amounts of information, but in an unsystematic manner. No national uniform data collection or statistics mechanism on probation exists, although such a system is feasible.

A bibliography is included.

CRITICAL ISSUES IN PROBATION MANAGEMENT

INTRODUCTION

The subject of this Technical Issue Paper will be the issues of organization and management of the resources available for the provision and delivery of probation services. Other Technical Issue Papers in this series have considered such areas as the legal environment of probation, the characteristics and requirements of presentence investigation reports, characteristics of probation clients and caseloads, treatment modalities, prediction instruments, recidivism, innovative domestic probation programs, and the status and characteristics of probation on an international level. This report will concentrate on the discovery of what is known about the efficiency and effectiveness of various organizational and management techniques and on the possible implications of these techniques for administrators.

The organizational and management issues which we will discuss in this report are important to administrators for several reasons. First, of course, all probation administrators want to perform their jobs as efficiently and effectively as possible. Although we assume that most administrators are familiar with fundamental management concepts and techniques, there are a number of management concerns which are especially relevant to the areas of corrections in general and probation in particular. So, in order to carry out their tasks in an efficient and effective manner, administrators will want to be fully informed and knowledgeable about organization and management problems, and their possible solutions, which affect the smooth running of a probation agency. Second, there may be a number of areas in which flexibility is denied to the administrator by law. These areas may include the selection of probation officers, the decision to grant, deny, or revoke probation, the required performance of presentence investigations, the length of the probation period, the various rights of due process guaranteed to probationers, and the use of certain treatment modalities. Most of the areas of management, however, allow the administrator some maneuverability and the ability to make choices based upon the probable contribution of a certain technique to the efficient or effective management of the probation agency. Finally, management concerns can be a fruitful area for innovation. The examples of management techniques which we discuss may be untried by many probation agencies, and thus the experiences of other departments may be of considerable value to the administrator who is contemplating changing or modifying an existing technique or adopting a new one.

A significant amount of interest in the management and organizational problems of probation systems was prompted by the Comptroller General's Report to the Congress, entitled State and County Probation: Systems in Crisis, which was published in May 1976.[1] This report was critical of the performance of state and local probation agencies and stressed the positive role which could be played by the federal government, through the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, by providing leadership, funds, and technical assistance to the States. The findings of the study were generated by a review of the adult felon probation systems in Maricopa County, Arizona; Multnomah County, Oregon; Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania; and King County, Washington. A number of recommendations which are relevant to our discussion of management concerns were made, dealing particularly with the provision of services to probationers. The findings of the study indicated that probationers who received needed services were more likely to complete their probation periods successfully than those who did not receive needed services. Therefore, the report emphasized the need to adequately identify the probationers' needs, to provide the services required to satisfy those needs, and to ensure that local community resources become more responsive to probationers. Chapter IV of this Technical Issue Paper, The Provision of Probation Services, examines these concerns. Additionally, the Comptroller General recommended the establishment of information systems which are capable of adequately identifying problems and evaluating the effectiveness of probation programs. Information systems are discussed in Chapter IX of this Technical Issue Paper.

The importance of management concerns again has been underscored by another Comptroller General's Report to the Congress, entitled Probation and Parole Activities Need to Be Better Managed, published in October 1977.[2] This report provides a detailed description of the shortcomings in the operation and administration of the federal probation/parole system. Information was gathered by a review of operations in five probation districts (California Central, Georgia Northern, Illinois Northern, Washington, D.C., and Washington Western), a questionnaire completed by a number of chief judges, chief probation officers, and probation officers, and a randomly selected sample of open and closed probation and parole cases in the five probation districts. Of particular interest to probation administrators are the recommendations and suggestions directed toward supervision and service provision. One of the findings of the study was that probation officers appear to be emphasizing their other duties (such as completion of presentence investigation reports and administrative activities) more than their supervision responsibilities. The Comptroller General recommends six management techniques which can be used to improve supervision. The comments enclosed in brackets which follow each recommendation direct the reader to the section of one of the Technical Issue Papers in this series which addresses that specific issue.

- --Special units dedicated solely to supervision and thereby relieving probation officers of other duties such as making PSIs. [The issue of functional specialization is discussed in Chapter III, Issues in Caseload Management, of this Technical Issue Paper.]

- --Team concept of supervision which gives each probation officer a backup officer, permitting each to know the other's caseload. [The team management approach is discussed in Chapters III, Issues in Caseload Management, and IV, The Provision of Probation Services, of this Technical Issue Paper.]

- --Review of probation officer case files by supervisory probation officers, which assures evaluation of probation officers' performance. [Chapter IX of this Technical Issue Paper deals with Management Information Systems and review of case records.]

- --Suboffices which are used to improve geographic coverage of a district. [Chapter VII of the Technical Issue Paper on Domestic Innovations in Adult Probation covers the establishment of probation outreach offices.]

- --Flexible work hours which allow probation officers to contact offenders after regular working hours. [Again, see the outreach section of the Technical Issue Paper on Domestic Innovations in Adult Probation.]

- --Selective PSI reports which are less comprehensive than regular PSI reports and require less time to do. [See Chapter II, Differences in Techniques and Procedures Associated with Development and Usage of Presentence Reports, in the Technical Issue Paper on Presentence Investigation Reports.]

The report also contains recommendations concerning improvement of rehabilitation programs by the delivery of needed services to probationers. The recommendations are:

- --preparing rehabilitation plans which translate identified needs into short- and long-term treatment goals for each offender,

- --referring offenders to needed services, and

--following up to see that offenders receive needed services.

[See Chapters III, Issues in Caseload Management, and IV, The Provision of Probation Services, for discussions of the issues of needs assessments and strategies for service provision.]

Finally, the report stresses the importance of routine evaluation of probation offices for program implementation, effectiveness and shortcomings. [Chapters IX, Management Information Systems, and XI, Standards for Probation, of this Technical Issue Paper, discuss these issues.]

For ease of presentation, the critical issues in organization and management have been divided into eleven topic areas, each one comprising a chapter of this report. We cannot stress too strongly, however, that these areas are not mutually exclusive. Several of the chapters cover extensive topics, such as caseload management, roles of probation officers, and time studies, while other chapters concentrate on relatively narrow topics. It is important, therefore, to keep in mind the broader concepts when considering the material presented in the discussions of the more limited topics.

Chapter I presents a theoretical discussion of the issues involved in the organizational placement of probation administration. There are two critical dimensions to the placement issue: whether probation administration should be centralized in a unified state system or whether it should be decentralized in municipal or county systems, and whether probation administration should be located in the judicial or the executive branch of government. These dimensions, as well as the political, economic, and administrative implications of various organizational designs, will be explored. Because a probation administrator will rarely have the opportunity of actually selecting the placement of probation within the governmental structure or of directing a governmental reorganization, the theoretical discussion is presented in order that the administrator may become familiar with some of the implications and trade-offs which are inherent in the structure within which he must operate.

The various roles of probation officers are considered in Chapter II. Several role typologies and analyses of probation officers' functions have been developed and will be discussed. We will also examine research studies which have been conducted to determine the validity of these typologies and to discover whether any particular role was more closely associated with job satisfaction. Finally, we explore the roles and functions of the probation supervisor.

Chapter III is a broad discussion of some of the critical issues in caseload management. A number of topics of great importance to the probation administrator are covered in this chapter: caseload assignment techniques, differentiated levels of supervision, functional specialization, single officer caseloads and team supervision, the casework approach to supervision and the brokerage/advocacy approach, and the concept of workload. These discussions offer the assumptions which undergird the various management strategies, the implications of the strategies, and the experiences of probation agencies which have used the strategies. Caseload management is an area in which administrators may exercise a certain amount of flexibility, and thus these discussions can be helpful in modifying existing techniques or in creating innovative techniques.

One of the most important contributions of a probation agency is the provision of services to its probationers. The critical issues in the delivery of probation services are presented in Chapter IV. In this chapter, we will discuss service provision as it is integrated with the other major responsibilities of probation. We will discuss the types of services which are made available to probationers and the major strategies which are used to secure these services. The two major provision strategies - casework and brokerage - will be explored, along with some examples of operational service delivery systems. Finally, we will present two emerging issues in service provision which deserve the attention of administrators: the special needs of female probationers, and the practice of contracting with other social service agencies to provide services for the agency's caseload.

More and more probation agencies are beginning to recognize the unique contributions which can be made to the probation process by volunteers and paraprofessionals. Chapters V and VI discuss the rationales for the use of volunteers and paraprofessionals, as well as strategies which can be used for their recruitment, selection, training, and functioning. We will also examine the research which has attempted to assess the effectiveness of paraprofessionals and volunteers in working with probation clients.

Chapter VII is concerned with the training of probation officers. Our discussion begins with consideration of the types of backgrounds which probation officers bring with them to their jobs, and examines the issue of whether college or graduate level study is necessarily desirable for all probation officers. We will also consider the issues of both pre-service and in-service training. Probation administrators who may be required to provide pre-service or in-service training will want to be familiar with the assumptions underlying the training requirements, as well as with some rather startling findings concerning the effectiveness of such training.

It is of great importance to every probation administrator to know exactly how his officers spend their time. In Chapter VIII, we will present the findings of a number of time studies which have attempted to determine the types of activities which consume the probation officer's time. The results of these studies, which cover the proportions of time spent on various probation tasks, the proportions of time spent in the office, in the field, and in court, and the proportions of time spent in contact with probationers, should prove to be illuminating to most administrators. We will also present an example of how the results of a time study can be translated into a workload and staffing formula which represents accurately the amounts of time necessary to complete required tasks.

Chapter IX deals with the development of management information systems. These systems have been strongly recommended by virtually every task force or advisory commission which has considered the problems of the criminal justice system. We will discuss two different models of information systems - administrative management information systems and caseload management information systems. Each of these models, which differ in terms of function, assumptions, and capabilities, is explored. Finally, we present a discussion of the feasibility of and recommendations for statewide, multi-state, and nationwide information systems. All administrators will recognize the value of developing and maintaining the types of information systems which are presented here.

The use of probation, as opposed to the alternative disposition of incarceration, has often been justified on economic grounds. Chapter X deals with the cost analyses which have been attempted for probation. We first briefly review the essential elements of an adequate cost analysis. This discussion is followed by a presentation of the results of four cost analyses which compare the costs of probation with those of incarceration or compare the costs of a special probation program with those of regularly-provided probation services. This chapter will give the administrator some helpful insights into the problems of completing a rigorous cost or cost-benefit analysis, as well as some guidance on how these pitfalls can be avoided.

Finally, Chapter XI concerns the setting of standards for probation. Because the world of probation is administratively fractured and agreement on objectives is lacking, the achievement of certain pre-set standards or goals is frequently used by administrators as a substitute in assessing the efficiency or effectiveness of certain probation activities. For excerpts of standards, we have chosen the three most recent sets of standards - the American Bar Association's Standards (1968 and 1970), the National Advisory Commission's Standards (1973), and the American Correctional Association's Manual (1977). For purposes of comparison, we have grouped standards from each source into topic areas: definition of probation, administration and organization of probation, criteria for probation, revocation procedures, termination and discharge, conditions, qualifications for persons providing probation services, services to probationers, presentence activities, and case records, management information systems, and research.

In all of these chapters, we have tried to concentrate on those aspects of a given issue which would be of most value and interest to a probation administrator. We have tried to isolate the more important issues of organization and management and deal with them from an administrator's point of view. Thus, we have emphasized not only the generally accepted ways of managing probation agencies, but also have

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stressed alternatives and innovations. And finally, in addition to providing theoretical concepts and assumptions, we have considered the importance of experiences reported by probation agencies which have actually implemented the alternative and innovative ideas.

The raw material upon which this paper is based consists of a variety of documents treating the subject of probation, which were published between 1950 and 1977. These documents include books, articles from the popular and scholarly press, reports of research and evaluation studies, and conference papers. The material was gathered through a nine-month review of literature based on the following sources:

1. A printout of all LEAA-funded probation projects, covering the period 1968 to 1976, from the Grant Management Information Service.
2. A printout of all probation-related publications listed with the National Criminal Justice Reference Service.
3. Telephone contact with all State Planning Agencies.
4. Telephone contact with all state probation offices in states which have a centralized probation system.
5. Letters to all county probation offices in states which have a decentralized system.
6. Letters to all state departments of correction.
7. The resources of the Ohio State University Libraries.
8. Literature searches in:
    - a. Psychological Abstracts
    - b. Crime and Delinquency Abstracts
    - c. International Bibliography on Crime and Delinquency
    - d. Abstracts on Criminology and Penology
    - e. Sociological Abstracts

Although we cannot, of course, be certain that all relevant documents were included in the study, we believe that those which have had the widest influence have been considered. Research and evaluation studies were included based on our ability to locate interpretable reports of the studies, on the methodological soundness of the study, or, in areas where very little information was available, their uniqueness. The value of this Technical Issue Paper and the accuracy of its conclusions are in part a function of the quality of the material which formed its base. The authors, however, have selected the material to be included and must therefore bear the responsibility for this product.

FOOTNOTES

INTRODUCTION

[1] Comptroller General of the United States. Report to the Congress. State and County Probation: Systems in Crisis (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, May 27, 1976).

[2] Comptroller General of the United States. Report to the Congress. Probation and Parole Activities Need to Be Better Managed (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, October 21, 1977).

CHAPTER I

LOCUS OF PROBATION ADMINISTRATION

Introduction

For this discussion, the issue of determining the proper organizational placement for probation can be viewed as bi-dimensional. The first dimension involves the degree to which the provision of probation services is centralized. To clarify this concept, it is useful to imagine two polar forms of state government. At one extreme is complete centralization, that is, a unitary form of government. The state government, in the absence of assistance from other levels such as county or municipality, assumes full responsibility for the provision of probation services. As we move toward the other pole, we approach a totally decentralized government under which individuals provide all services for themselves. This extreme is most probably anarchy and probation as we know it could not survive. However, if we stop short of total decentralization at a point where numerous smaller governmental units such as counties or municipalities provide probation services, we approximate the conditions which exist in much of the United States today.

The second dimension of the organizational placement issue involves the separate branches of government. Should probation be placed in the judicial branch under the control of the courts or in the executive branch where it will be influenced by elected officials of the executive branch of the bureaucracy?

There are a number of issues which impact upon decisions or actions concerning the organizational placement of any governmental function. These issues revolve around the specific governmental function under discussion and must be carefully considered if the policies selected are to "optimize resource allocation and performance, and offer the highest degree of flexibility."[1]

If one accepts the assumption that the goals to which most probation agencies subscribe and the tasks which they must perform can be enhanced by a particular organizational structure, then decisions which determine the organizational structure should be at least partially based on the task and goal realities of probation. In addition, the existing set of financial, political, and administrative characteristics of probation must be considered. Furthermore, the survival instincts of organizations dictate that any reorganization of probation will elicit changes in the organizations which interact with probation. These chains of effects throughout other organizations will require that adjustments to probation be either a part of an overall change for corrections or the result of trade-offs and negotiations with the existing clients and constituencies of probation. In short, changing the organizational structure of probation is not a task to be undertaken lightly or with visions of rapid and complete change.

This chapter will present some of the more theoretical aspects of the organizational placement issue along with arguments for and against each position. It will conclude with a discussion of a recent study conducted by the Council of State Governments directed toward evaluating the effects of government reorganization attempts on state and local corrections.

Centralization and Decentralization

Two concepts useful for understanding centralization issues are political decentralization and administrative decentralization. Political decentralization implies that policy-making authority is exercised by local government units. Resources are transferred to or are generated by the local units. There is an emphasis on local discretionary decision-making power.

Political decentralization implies a need for administrators who are generalists, who can operate within a specific local jurisdiction in total control of local agency resources and activities. It is suggested that, "they are in closer touch with residents and can modify programs to meet area priorities."[2] In extreme systems of political decentralization there is a lack of even the most rudimentary guidelines and control from higher levels of government (i.e., state government).

One method for achieving a degree of political decentralization for probation has been the institution of direct cash transfers from state to local government. These "probation subsidies," although dispensed by a number of different formulas and techniques, further the ability of the local unit to coordinate, provide, and contract for the services which it offers.

Administrative decentralization occurs when a control agency such as one at the state level delegates some of its decision-making authority to subordinate levels of its own organization. The central office of the agency retains the right to modify or revoke the discretionary authority it has granted. Typically, the authority is diffused among field offices or regional units which continue to reflect the functional and departmental structure of the central authority, "but are expected to exercise increased final authority in the execution of the program."[3]

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In probation, administrative decentralization is frequently based on specific functions such as juvenile and adult probation or on geographic areas. It is important to remember that although some decision-making authority has been delegated to local units, the control of agency policy still rests with the central office; thus a more uniform, or state level, view tends to prevail. There is less accommodation to local perspective than would be expected in a politically decentralized system.

Proponents of decentralization, be it political or administrative, tend to posit the following types of arguments:

1. "Local programs can typically develop better support from local citizenry and agencies. Once the offender is adjudged criminal or delinquent, and turned over to a state agency, there is a tendency to withdraw local services."[4]
2. "Smaller operations tend to be more flexible and less bound by bureaucratic rigidity. Given aggressive leadership and community support they may indeed outstrip the larger, more cumbersome state services."[5]
3. "The probationer remains in the local community and can be best supervised by a person thoroughly familiar with the local community."[6]
4. "Local agencies are best equipped to experiment with new procedures and better methods because of their smaller size. Mistakes are not so costly and far-reaching."[7]
5. "State policies are often rejected by local communities who then refuse to cooperate with the probation system which is dependent upon local acceptance for operational efficiency and success."[8]

Opponents of decentralization point out that there are limitations to the degree of decentralization which can be accomplished. As the degree of decentralization increases, the problem of synchronizing the activities of separate but dependent agencies increases. An example would be the problem of assuring continuity of services for probationers who move from one county to another where treatment priorities and resource allocations differ. Extreme decentralization can lead to unrestrained parochialism and an inability to formulate or act on statewide standards and goals.

Some of the opposing viewpoints are set forth in a summary statement by the National Advisory Commission:

> Few states in which probation is a local function have provided any leadership or supervision for probation agencies. Tremedous variations are likely to exist within a state in terms of staff employed in counties of similar size, qualifications of personnel employed, and relative emphasis on services to courts and probationers. County probation agencies often are small and lack resources for staff training and development, research and program planning, and, more basically, services to the probationers.[9]

Similarly, the Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training, summarizing from its survey of probation agencies, concluded: "The paucity of community resources available to local correctional agencies is evident irrespective of the size of the jurisdiction being served."[10]

Joint Commission surveys also found few innovative programs in local probation departments:

> In general, local probation agencies are devoid of experimental programs and there is little serious interest in evaluation of the impact of on-going programs. Manpower resources are usually poorly utilized and little is being accomplished in terms of systematic analysis of the tasks to be performed in probation settings in order to more effectively utilize existing personnel.[11]

The opinions expressed above are not uncommon. Although decentralization has been highly valued in our society, the trend in probation, and indeed in corrections in general, appears to be in the direction of centralization. Attempts are being made to establish unified state corrections systems to replace county and municipal systems. Two general examples of centralized probation systems are:

"State: One agency administers a central probation system which provides services throughout the state."[12]

"State Combined: Probation and parole both are administered on a statewide basis by one agency."[13]

Proponents of the move toward increased centralization cite the following arguments:

1. "A state-administered system is free of local political consideration and can recommend new programs without approval by local political bodies."[14]
2. "A state-administered system provides greater assurance that goals and objectives can be met and that uniform policies and procedures can be developed. Also, more efficiency in the disposition of resources is assured because all staff employees and a larger agency can make more flexible use of manpower, funds and other resources."[15]
3. Under a state administration "there exists a greater probability that the same level of services will be extended to all areas and all clients. Uniform and equitable policies will be applied in recommendations for institutional and out-of-town placement, while variations in policy are manifested where administration is local. Some economies in detention and diagnostic services are possible if they are operated regionally rather than locally."[16]
4. "Another major advantage in the states' operation of probation services is the possibility of combining them with parole services and also better coordinating them with institutional programs. The advantages of such combined services are several. A single agency is able to offer a continuity of service and provide economies in the distribution of services. Additionally, there is a tendency for a local agency to solve a problem case, or one that requires

a substantial investment of services or money, by commitment to a state institution. This would be minimized if a single agency operated both programs."[17]

5. "State administration of probation services historically has been in the forefront of developing innovative programs, demonstration projects, and correctional research."[18]

It is generally believed that agencies manifest characteristics peculiar to their organizational structure. Agencies which are highly decentralized are thought to be characterized by participation, access, and responsiveness, while centralized agencies are marked by efficiency, professionalism, and the use of more advanced technologies such as computerized information systems. These characteristics many vary from agency to agency, but it is likely that agencies with extreme degrees of centralization or decentralization will experience difficulty in providing a wide range of probation services. Some balance between the two extremes is required to capitalize on the positive aspects of both.

Several states are attempting to combine the advantage of uniformity, characteristic of a centralized structure, with a decentralized structure by the following methods:

1. Standard Setting: In New Jersey, the courts are responsible for setting standards for local probation systems, while in California the responsibility is placed in the executive branch.[19]
2. Personnel Provision and Upgrading: "Michigan assigns state-paid probation officers to work alongside local probation officers. New York State reimburses local communities up to 50 percent of the operating costs for probation programs, provided that local communities meet state staffing standards. This subsidy has nearly doubled in the last six years, resulting in an increase of

probation staff from 1,527 in 1965 to 1,956 in 1972."[20]

3. Direct Financial Subsidy: "The states of California and Washington use a different approach in providing revenue to local jurisdictions. These states attempt to resolve a problem that is apparent when probation is a local function, namely, that financing probation is a local responsibility. However, when juveniles or adults are sent to correctional institutions, these are usually administered and financed by the state."[21]Frequently, one consequence is the shifting of financial responsibility from local government to state government by sentences of incarceration rather than probation.

California and Washington have developed probation subsidy programs in which counties are reimbursed in proportion to the number of individuals who remain in the community rather than being sent to state institutions. The probation subsidy program began in California in 1966. The decrease in commitments in those California counties that participated in the subsidy program almost doubled the decrease in commitments of counties not participating. The state of Washington has had a similar experience with the probation subsidy program which began in January, 1970. Its purpose was to reduce the number of commitments to institutions from county juvenile courts. In 1971, the state received 55 percent fewer commitments than expected.[22]

These examples suggest that affirmative policy actions, particularly from the state level, can negate or enhance the effects of centralization or decentralization. For example, a policy which pursues a form of centralization must also promote strong integration so that while emphasizing state standards to deal with probation problems which are universal in scope, it will also allow for adjustments to meet particular local or regional needs.

Conversely, decentralization emphasizes local priorities and attitudes. Therefore, mechanisms must be designed that will encourage local administrators to maintain regional and state interests also. In probation, for example, problems related to supervision, treatment and control, as well as funding and technology, transcend the boundaries of cities and counties. This perspective must be kept in mind when developing organizational policy. The ABA commented on this by emphasizing that:

> However this issue is resolved, there is still and important function to be discharged by the state. The experience is that without some statewide control over the standards that govern the administration of probation services pockets of unevenness and inattention will develop within the state to the detriment of the entire structure. Crime problems of one locality are not simply problems of control within that locality. This is particularly true when the issue is probation. The problem is generally posed in terms of a substantial rehabilitative effort to prevent an offender from offending again, perhaps more seriously the next time and perhaps in the next county. The entire state, then, has a clear interest in raising the level of correctional services in every community. At the very least, this interest should be reflected in the establishment of minimum standards operable and enforced in every locally administered system.[23]

Finally, organizational policy decisions must incorporate political considerations. If the policy pursued is one of centralization, political influence will accrue to those officials in state government, whereas elected local officials and administrative generalists will gain influence in a politically decentralized system. To the extent that the use of decision-making authority by any of these groups makes an impact on policy outcomes, the selection of an organizational structure of centralization or decentralization will affect the function of the agency, as well as "who gets what" from the agency.

Policy Effects and Interactions

The following section considers two sets of effects and interactions: (1) the effects of the political, economic, and administrative environments upon the organizational design which controls the degree of centralization or decentralization, and (2) the effects of centralized or decentralized organizational design upon the same political, economic, and administrative environments.

It should be recognized that agencies frequently deal with a number of constituencies. Changes in the organizational locus of operation will likely change agency/constituency relationships and thus give rise to political problems. The values and attitudes of agencies' constituencies can both affect and be affected by such changes.

It is argued that as probation agencies become centralized into a state agency or decentralized into local control the predominant values of the local community are correspondingly modified.[24] A form of modification which can occur with centralized probation is a change in the level of services available. This can result from ineffective communications between the state level probation and the local service provision agencies. Local organizations must be persuaded to provide the mix and level of services that will satisfy the needs of the probation agency and its clients.

The relative dispersion of the client population may also influence the politics of the probation function. Generally, recipients of probation services are widely dispersed among the population and constitute a small percentage of the population of a given community. Smaller jurisdictions with scarce resources will tend to allocate funds to programs which serve the largest number of people thus perhaps slighting probation. By looking at the aggregate numbers of probationers and probation needs on a state level, centralized agencies may be better able to generate and dispense necessary resources.

Access, accountability, and citizen participation are political values to be considered by any public agency when adopting an organizational structure. Access requires that the agency be approachable and open to its clientele and constitutencies. It is widely believed that a generalist administrator in a local unit will tend to be more receptive to inquiry than a specialist located in a central office. To the extent that this is correct, a centralized system may be less responsive to clients and community groups.[25]

Accountability, as used here, refers to an identifiable person or group having the responsibility and resources to perform a function. Organizational structure may affect accountability by insulating responsible officials from public scrutiny, or by placing the administrator and the agency's resources beyond community control. For example, probation's treatment function may be so highly subdivided in an administratively decentralized system that no individual or group is accountable for the total program. In politically decentralized systems, the problem is more likely to be that an official will be made accountable who does not have the financial resources to carry out a program demanded by the state's minimum standards.

Internal agency politics vary with degree of decentralization. Decentralization may promote tension between generalist administrators and specialists. Specialists espouse the view that the generalist is politically vulnerable and lacks expertise, while the generalist perceives the specialist as overly narrow and uninformed as to the political realities of administrative situations. The power of the generalist is increased through decentralization while the specialist tends to profit from a system of centralization.

The separation of responsibility and authority within an agency is a second source of agency politics.[26] A system of decentralization may result in the responsibility for a function being located at one level while the authority or power to perform the actual activities is placed at another.

Administratively, a primary concern in selecting a level of government to perform a function is to determine which level can most effectively perform that function. A characteristic of probation, like other public agencies, is that often there is no consensus on agency objectives. The administrative consequence of this is that agency leadership often does not have a clear mandate for its tasks, i.e., supervision, control, or treatment. Therefore, the organizational structure of probation must be flexible and have the capacity to act within broad and occasionally conflicting sets of goals.

Secondly, in the delivery of public services, the most efficient and effective means of delivering probation services tend to be poorly understood and division of labor among sub-units is difficult. Efficiency and effectiveness criteria are often replaced by activity measures and social or political criteria.

Closely related to this is the consideration of the quantity and quality of information needed or available to monitor a decentralized field operation or intergovernmental system. The more ambiguous the goals of probation and its techniques are, the more difficult it is to design an adequate management information system and the more difficult the task of decentralization becomes. However, even a centralized system for formulating policies may not be effective if production technologies are ambiguous or public interest groups expect multiple and/or conflicting outputs. Under these situations, operational units will have to maintain enough discretionary authority to respond appropriately to complicated changes and demands. Further, individual administrators will require reduced spans of control as the technology and social environment become more complicated.

Lastly, most of the routinization and established activity functions occur at the technical levels of the organization, i.e., probation officer level. Moving up the managerial hierarchy, responsibilities involving policy decisions become more complex. Therefore, it becomes harder to decentralize managerial and policy-making functions effectively unless the objective of reorganization is to divest the central agency of these functions. This is often the intent of political decentralizations; however, one should note that while this can be a legitimate objective, it is unrealistic to decentralize these basic functions and still try to maintain central control of local jurisdictions.[27]

Summarizing the above, the following can be considered as major administrative aspects of the centralization/decentralization issue:

1. The degree of consensus and understanding of agency goals.
2. The relative understanding of probation technologies.
3. The degree of coordination necessary to perform the probation function.
4. The character of the social environment (legislature, public) within which the agency is operating.
5. The level of agency function considered for reorganization.

The National Advisory Commission on Standards and Goals for Corrections concluded its position on this issue with the following:

Uniformity in probation can be achieved only when there is a state-administered probation system. When it is simply not possible for a state to administer a probation system, the state, through a designated agency in the executive branch, should be responsible for developing standards for local probation systems that provide for a minimum acceptable level of functioning. State standards have a greater chance of being implemented if the state indicates a willingness to share costs with local governments when standards are met and maintained.

In addition to setting standards for local jurisdictions, the state agency should be responsible for establishing policies, defining statewide goals, providing staff training, assisting in fiscal planning and implementation, collecting statistics and data to monitor the operations of local probation agencies, and enforcing change when necessary. Through these means, a state-supervised program can bring about some degree of uniformity in operations throughout the state, but not to the same degree as a state-administered program.[28]

Judicial or Executive Branch Placement

A second related discussion concerning probation administration is whether it should be placed in the judicial or the executive branch of government. The controversy arises from the fact that the authority to use probation as a sentencing disposition with statutory limitations resides with the courts. "That authority ... is not surprising when it is remembered that probation developed out of the power of a court to sentence the criminal offender and ... either its inherent or legislatively-granted power to suspend the imposition or execution of sentence.[29] Despite the issue of the nature of probation (i.e., whether it is a sentence, or suspension of sentence imposition, or suspension of sentence execution), there is agreement that the administration of probation as a disposition resides in the court.[30]

If we use this point as a base on which to build a comprehensive administrative system, the next logical step would be to place the administrative controls where they will be effective not only in fulfilling the judicial role but also the accompanying goals of probation itself, i.e., supervision, provision of services, treatment, and the supervision and control of agency personnel.

However, there is no consensus as to what kind of system best answers the above stated need. The following arguments are advanced by those who favor placement of probation administration with the judicial branch of government:

1. "Probation would be more responsive to court direction. Throughout the probation process, the court could provide guidance to probation workers and take corrective action when indicated."[31]
2. "This arrangement provides the judiciary with an automatic feedback mechanism on effectiveness of dispositions through reports filed by probation staff."[32]
3. "Courts have a greater awareness of resource needs and may become advocates for their staff in obtaining better services."[33]
4. "Increased use of pretrial diversion may be furthered by placing probation in the judicial branch. Courts have not been inclined to transfer authority and, therefore, may set more stringent limitations on the discretion of non-judical personnel to release or divert than on judicial staff."[34]
5. "When probation is administered by a judge, there frequently exists the kind of shared knowledge of function and communication about program content that is found nowhere else in the correctional apparatus."[35] "Judges more fully trust the information and services provided by staff under their immediate control."[36] Judges generally are more aware of sentencing alternatives and so can utilize different approaches as necessary to fit the individual offender.
6. "Administration should be with the agency which provides the greatest flow of work; "Federal probation officers perform 75% of their work for the courts."[37] And finally a compromise argument suggested by

the National Advisory Commission:

7. "Courts at least should retain control over that portion of the staff performing services for the courts (as distinguished from services to pretrial releases and probationers), and that juvenile intake services be under the supervision of the courts."[38]

The arguments for placing probation in the judicial branch center around the previously-stated relationship between the courts and probation: that the authority to grant the probation disposition resides with the court and is a natural outgrowth of the power of a court to sentence the criminal offender.[39] However, as will be noted among arguments opposing placement within the judiciary, other subsystems of the criminal justice system located in the executive branch are able to work effectively with the courts.[40]

These opposing arguments tend to be similar to the following remarks:

1. "When judges do administer probation, a disproportionate amount of time is spent on presentence investigation for the judges, forcing some neglect of the supervision of offenders."[41]
2. "Probation staff may be assigned functions that serve legal processes of the court and are unrelated to probation, such as issueing summonses, serving subpoenas, and running errands for judges."[42]
3. "Courts, particularly the criminal courts, are adjudicatory and regulatory rather than service-oriented bodies. Therefore, as long as probation remains part of the court setting, it will be subservient to the court and will not develop and identity of its own."[43]

The National Advisory Commission on Standards and Goals (NAC) has strongly supported executive branch placement of probation as the proper long-range objective. "Such placement would facilitate a more rational allocation of probation staff services, increase interaction and administrative coordination with corrections and allied human services, increase access to the budget process (legislature) and establishment of priorities, and remove the courts from an inappropriate role."[44] The NAC did, however, suggest that because of the present mix of arrangements among the states it may be necessary for state agency probation employees to perform some of their work under the direction of the courts. "It would be essential in such an arrangement that probation staff take direction from the court and the court administration in establishment of policies, procedures, and performance standards for carrying out their tasks and that the probation division be responsive to the needs of the court."[45]

Other arguments for placing probation administration in the executive branch are:

1. "All other subsystems for carrying out court dispositions of offenders are in the executive branch. Closer coordination and functional integration with other corrections personnel could be achieved by a common organizational placement, particularly as community-based corrections programs increase. Furthermore, job mobility would be enhanced if related functions are administratively tied."[46]
2. "The executive branch contains the allied human services agencies; where probation is also in the executive branch, opportunities are increased for coordination, cooperative endeavors, and comprehensive planning."[47]
3. "Decisions involving resource allocation and ranking of priorities are made by the executive branch which in turn are the basis for requests for funds from the legislature. When probation is included in the total corrections systems, more rational decisions

about distribution of resources can be made."[48]

4. "Probation administrators are in a position to negotiate and present their case more strongly if they are in the executive branch. When probation is a part of the court system the judge, not the probation administrator, is responsible for presenting the budget request and acting as negotiator, a non-traditional role for the judge."[49]

Related to this issue, although it is primarily concerned with the administration of federal probation, is whether probation services should be placed in the same agency responsible for the prosecution of offenses.

The ABA Advisory Committee takes a strong position on this organizational question:

> While the integration of probation services with a state corrections department agency may well be sound, it is not sound, in the judgement of the Advisory Committee, for probation services, or indeed, for any corrections services, to be under the same organizational structure as that which directs the prosecution of offenses. The potential cross-over which can exist under such a structure can be damaging in fact as well as in appearance. And of course, the primary relationships of the local probation officer, whether he gets his job through the local court or through a statewide system of some sort, must be with the local judge, not the local prosecutor. The judge is, in effect, the correctional administrator of the probationers over whom he has control; the probation officers are, in effect, his administrative assistants in assuring that the day-to-day activities of the probationers are properly directed. The prosecutor ought to have no administrative role in either the supervision of daily activities or in the correctional decisions which shape the course of an individual probationer's program.[50]

This argument is primarily directed against placing the Federal probation administration within the U.S. Department of Justice, which is the same agency which directs prosecution. A further argument against such placement is that "another consequence ... would be the damage to the relationship between the probation officer and the probationer, who would know that the man supervising him is a part of the department that prosecuted him."[51]

The resolution of the issue of placing probation in the judicial branch or the executive branch, like that of the centralization/decentralization issue, will depend on an analysis of each state's existing corrections system, its political climate, its correctional needs, its financial resources, and whether the existing system is considered effective.

Correctional Reorganization Research

The foregoing discussions of change in the organizational locus of probation help to expose the issues involved, but in a very real sense, they are artificial. Probation does not exist in a vacuum. For good or ill, probation is a component in a complex corrections process, and it is heavily influenced by trends which affect corrections in general. A recent study by the Council of State Governments reports on a trend toward unified state corrections systems.[52] The study explores the impetus for this movement, as well as its political, managerial, and programmatic implications.

The study reviewed correctional reorganizations which occurred during the period 1965 through 1975. The states examined were: Arizona, Colorado, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Maryland, Ohio, and Oregon. The study was designed to sample several different organizational structures. Florida, Georgia, and Ohio were representative of states in which adult and juvenile programs were administered by separate correctional agencies. Arizona, Delaware, and Illinois were examples of states in which corrections programs, both adult and juvenile, were administered by a separate state agency, while Colorado and Oregon were examples of states which administer corrections as a part of an umbrella-type human resources department. In Maryland, corrections is also under an umbrella agency, however, it is a Public Safety agency which differs considerably in philosophy from

Human Resources departments.

Data for this study were collected through personal interviews with individuals either directly involved in the original corrections reorganization or currently involved with the administration of corrections. The interviews were supplemented by secondary data such as annual reports, transcripts of committee hearings, and findings of study commissions.[53]

The interviews were designed to address two major questions: (1) how was the proposal for reorganization evolved and adopted, and (2) what were the effects of organizational change on corrections programs, administrative procedures, and interagency relationships.[54] Lastly, the experiences of the states were compared to allow the researchers to draw conclusions about the effects of corrections reorganizations.

The findings of this research suggest that attempts to reorganize corrections are reflective of trends in the reorganization of state government in general and more specifically, the urging of successive national commissions investigating the criminal justice system. The trend is to move to unified corrections agencies and consequently a more centralized model.

In general, one can expect reorganization to be viewed as an effective means of achieving more political accountability, managerial effectiveness, and, to a lesser extent, programmatic change.[55] The study stresses the importance to corrections of the agency structure, suggesting that the structure will affect priorities among programs, the resources available to the agency, and the degree of accountability of the agency administrators.[56]

The source of the movement to reorganize seemed to have some effect on the organizational placement of corrections. In instances where corrections reorganization was part of a general state agency reform movement, corrections functions tended to be placed under an umbrella agency such as Human Resources or Public Safety. However, when the reorganization movement was targeted specifically on corrections reform, the tendency was to create a separate corrections agency with one administrator directly responsible to the governor.

Evidence developed during this study indicates that either consolidation option (single agency or umbrella agency) enhanced managerial control by the governor. The ability of the agency's central office to control the activities of subordinate units within corrections was equally enhanced. This increase in central power, however, led to problems for lower management levels. From a lower-level perspective, consolidation frequently led to increased delays in decision-making, loss of resources, and more complicated operating procedures.[57] Similar problems were expressed by higher level corrections administrators operating in umbrella agencies, which no doubt represents a tangible effect of the loss of corrections' individual status in the larger agency.

An expected benefit of combining corrections with non-corrections programs in umbrella agencies was an integration of all public safety or human services programs. Data from this research do not support the hypothesis of greater integration. In fact, administrators in the reorganizations studied, "...reported no differences in the frequency of contact or sharing of resources with such things as vocational rehabilitation units, mental health institutions or employment agencies."[58] Additionally, significant philosophical disagreements over policy emphasis emerged when corrections became a part of an umbrella agency. Institutional vs. community-based approaches to corrections and rehabilitation models vs. security models were two areas of particular disagreement. These differences were the sharpest when the umbrella agency was Human Resources and minimized when the agency was Public Safety.

The study found that as the visibility of corrections increased, its funding increased. If the reorganization resulted in an increase in the status of corrections in the bureaucracy, corrections administrators gained greater leverage with legislatures during budget negotiation. This trend toward an increase in the visibility and legislative accessibility of corrections may in part explain why, "In no state (studied) was there an example of cost savings,"[59] and while the study did not assess the exact dollar cost of reorganization, it did conclude that reorganization of any kind is expensive.[60] It appears that promises of cost reduction resulting from correctional reorganization should be viewed with skepticism.

Increased political visibility for corrections tended to act as a brake on program innovation. Administrators of unified separate corrections agencies are more vulnerable to political pressure than their counterparts located in an umbrella agency. Unified separate agencies reported an inability to maintain innovative and somewhat controversial programs such as work release, community-based facilities, and pre-release furloughs.

In summary, the report concludes that major changes have occurred in corrections policy, upper-level managerial capabilities, resource allocations, and program structure in all the states which attempted reorganization. Most of the changes are at least partially traceable to changes in the administrative structure. It is important to remember, however, that not all the consequences were intended; many would not have occurred, "...without appropriate shifts in other factors as well, including leadership, levels of funding, changes in political climate, and unexpected crises."[61]

Probation administrators can infer from this report that their placement in a more unified corrections system can hold out the probability of both good and ill. They may benefit from the overall increase in funding to corrections, from more sophisticated information systems, and from greater visibility to the legislature. The price for these benefits, however, may be the loss of independent status and a consequent limitation of policy discretion, escalating political pressures on controversial programs, and possible loss of financial resources to institutional programs.

Two additional observations with respect to probation should be made. First, the administrators of unified systems were not particularly successful "...in bringing probation personnel under central office direction regardless of administrative location."[62] Further, the report states that "the traditional close ties between probation personnel and local judges continued whether probation was previously a state or local responsibility."[63] Both of these observations are important because they indicate the resiliency of current organizational arrangement and the futility of expecting rapid and complete change.

Summary

The focus of this chapter has been on the issues and arguments surrounding the administrative locus of control for probation. We have presented both the theoretical implications of alternative administrative arrangements and the results of the rather meager research available on the issue. Where probation will eventually come to rest in future state administrative structures is highly problematic. The trend seems to be toward unified state corrections agencies with a consequent dilution of the policy control exercised by probation administrators. It is highly

44

likely that the decisions to reorganize corrections which directly involve probation will be made at the highest administrative levels. This may mean that probation administrators' input into these decisions will be minimal, particularly if administrators ignore the trend toward unified corrections and rigidly insist on administrative self-determination. Forwardlooking probation administrators will recognize the importance of these issues and begin to explore them and prepare their agencies for changes which certainly will come.

APPENDIX I-A

Interstate Compacts on Probation

Before completing a consideration of probation administration, we should mention the interstate compacts for supervision of probationers and parolees, both adult and juvenile. Prior to the Crime Control Consent Act passed by Congress in 1936, there was no mechanism for supervising a probationer outside the state where he was convicted. Since in many instances the offender's home, relatives, and community ties were in another state, the probationer could not be provided supervision in the very locale which, in theory, offered the best chance for success.

Subsequent to 1936, a group of states entered into the Interstate Compact for the Supervision of Parolees and Probationers, through which they undertook to supervise probationers and parolees for each other. All states had signed the compact by 1951, and incorporated it into their state laws.[64]

The Interstate Compact on Juveniles, a similar agreement, provides for the return of runaways, escapees, and absconders, as well as for cooperative supervision of probationers and parolees.

> The Compacts identify a 'sending state' and a 'receiving state.' The 'sending state' is the state of conviction. The 'receiving state' is the state that undertakes the supervision. The offender must meet certain residence requirements with reference to the receiving state. Ordinarily, the probationer or parolee must be a resident ot the receiving state, have relatives there, or have employment there. The receiving state agrees to accept the offender and give him the same supervision as is accorded a probationer or parolee in the receiving state. The offender who obtains the benefits of out-of-state supervision waives extradition. The sending state may enter the receiving state and take custody of the probationer or parolee who has violated the terms of his release without going through extradition proceedings, and a supplementary agreement permits the violator to be incarcerated in the receiving state at the expense of the sending state, if both states agree.[65]

The compacts apparently work well with the exception of instances where probation is locally administered. Under these circumstances, Killinger notes that the mechanism "does not work as smoothly for probation supervision as for parole supervision."[66] This last example illustrates one of the problems inherent in the present fragmented probation system. The lack of uniformity in the organizational placement of probation from state to state has impeded the development of effective treatment and supervision strategies for out of state probationers. As was noted earlier, the delivery of probation services and probation concerns are not bounded by jurisdictional lines within a given state and from the immediate discussion we can expand on this observation to include state borders as well. Any discussion and analysis of agency organizational structure and/or locus of control should consider a structure able to minimize conflicts or breaks in the delivery of probation services due to multi-jurisdictional conditions. Up to this point, our discussion has generally focused on probation as a separate entity within the criminal justice system. We have treated the question of organizational structure of the probation function within that frame of reference which assumes it will continue as an autonomous agency either at the state level or at the county or municipal levels of government.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER I

[1] David O. Porter and Eugene Olsen, "Some Critical Issues in Government Centralization and Decentralization," *Public Administration Review* 36 (January-February 1976): 72-84.

[2] Ibid., p. 73.

[3] Ibid., p. 74.

[4] President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, *Task Force Report: Corrections* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967): 35-37.

[5] Ibid., p. 36.

[6] George G. Killinger, Hazel B. Kerper, and Paul F. Cromwell, *Probation and Parole in the Criminal Justice System* (St. Paul, Minnesota: West Publishing Co., 1976): 97.

[7] Ibid., p. 97.

[8] Ibid.

[9] National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals. *Corrections* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973): 314.

[10] Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training. *Report of the Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training* (College Park, Maryland: American Correctional Association, 1968): 19.

[11] Killinger, Kerper and Cromwell, ibid., p. 97.

[12] Howard Abadinsky, *Probation and Parole* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1977): 36-37.

[13] Ibid., p. 36.

[14] National Advisory Commission, ibid., p. 315.

[15] President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, ibid., p. 36.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid., p. 37.

[19] National Advisory Commission, ibid., p. 315.

[20] Ibid., p. 315.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.

[23] American Bar Association, Standards Relating to Probation (New York, New York: American Bar Association, Project on Standards for Criminal Justice, 1970): 78.

[24] Porter and Olsen, ibid., p. 77.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid., p. 79.

[27] Ibid., p. 81.

[28] National Advisory Commission, ibid., p. 315.

[29] Killinger, Kerper and Cromwell, ibid., p. 94.

[30] Ibid.

[31] National Advisory Commission, ibid., p. 313.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

[35] President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, ibid., p. 35.

[36] Killinger, Kerper and Cromwell, ibid., p. 97.

[37] Albert Wahl, "Federal Probation Belongs with the Courts," Crime and Delinquency 12 (October 1966): 371-377.

[38] National Advisory Commission, ibid., p. 314, as cited in: Killinger, Kerper and Cromwell, ibid., p. 96.

[39] Killinger, Kerper and Cromwell, ibid., p. 94.

[40] National Advisory Commission, ibid., p. 313.

[41] Abadinsky, ibid., p. 36.

[42] National Advisory Commission, ibid., p. 314.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid.

[50] American Bar Association, ibid., p. 76.

[51] Wahl, ibid., p. 375.

[52] Council of State Governments. Reorganization of State Corrections Agencies: A Decade of Experience (Lexington, Kentucky: Council of State Governments, February 1977).

[53] Ibid., p. 22.

[54] Ibid., p. 24.

[55] Ibid., p. XIV.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid., p. 47.

[58] Ibid., p. 48.

[59] Ibid., p. 47.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid., p. 51.

[62] Ibid., p. 41.

[63] Ibid., p. 46.

[64] Killinger, Kerper and Cromwell, ibid., p. 114.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid.

CHAPTER II

ROLES OF PROBATION OFFICERS

The information contained in this section is the product of a literature review conducted to investigate the role of the probation officer—how his role perception affects his performance and the supervision styles in the administrative context of the agency. First, we shall consider a number of role typologies developed by experts in the field of probation. Then, we shall examine research studies conducted to determine the validity of some of these typologies.

Role Typologies

In their 1974 study of probation, Jordan and Sasfy outlined some of the major positions concerning the role of the probation officer. For example, Ohlin developed the following typology of probation officer styles:

> 1. The punitive officer who perceives himself as the guardian of middle-class morality; he attempts to coerce the offender into conforming by means of threats and punishment, and emphasizes control, the protection of the community against the offender and the systematic suspicion of those under supervision.
>
> 2. The protective officer who vacillates literally between protecting the offender and protecting the community. His tools are direct assistance, lecturing, and alternately, praise and blame. He is perceived as ambivalent in his emotional involvement with the offender and others in the community as he shifts back and forth in taking side with one against the other.
>
> 3. The welfare officer who has as his ultimate goal, the improved welfare of the client, achieved by aiding him in his individual adjustment within limits imposed by the client's capacity. Such an officer believes that the only genuine guarantee of community protection lies in the client's

> personal adjustment since external conformity will only be temporary, and in the long run, may make a successful adjustment more difficult. Emotional neutrality permeates his relationships. The diagnostic categories and treatment skills which he employs stem from an objective and theoretically-based assessment of the client's needs and capacities.[1]

Glaser extended this typology to include a fourth category, "the passive officer" who sees his job as a sinecure requiring only a minimum effort. Jordan and Sasfy presented the four typologies in tabular form in the following fashion.

FIGURE 2.1

TYPOLOGY OF SUPERVISION OFFICERS[2]

		Emphasis on Control	
		High	Low
Emphasis on Assistance	High	Protective Officer	Welfare Officer
	Low	Punitive Officer	Passive Officer

Dale G. Hardman also considered the function of the probation officer and added an additional factor--"an expert in the use of authority." Hardman believes that the use of this tool by the probation officer is crucial to his successful performance. "The worst probation officer is the one who fails to define his authority, leaving it muddled and nebulous in the offender's mind, thus necessitating his taking action to clarify it for himself."[3] He offers the following guidelines for the use of authority:

1. Use it openly and honestly.
2. Use only that authority delegated by the administrative agency.
3. Clarify its limits to the client.
4. Be considerate, honest, and fair
5. Insist that the client assume his responsibilities.
6. Resolve your own authority conflicts.
7. Execute it with empathetic understanding of the offender's total needs as a person worthy of interest, respect, and affection. Your role should be reconstructive, not retributive.[4]

Thus, Hardman feels that once the probation officer becomes an expert in the use of authority, he can deliver his services in the most efficient manner. In terms of the original Ohlin typology, it seems that what Hardman advocates is a blending of all three styles (punitive, protective, and welfare) through the development in the probationer of healthy attitudes towards the use of authority and, hence, responsibility.

In a manner similar to that of Ohlin and Glaser, Klockars presents a typology based upon the working philosophy of the probation officer. The first style presented is that of Law Enforcer. Such officers are primarily motivated by: (1) the court order (obtaining offender compliance with it),

(2) his authority, (3) his decision-making power, (4) officer responsibility for the public safety, and (5) police work - probation officer as policeman of the agency.[5] The second category is the Time Server who feels that his job has certain requirements to be fulfilled until retirement. He has no job aspirations - "They don't make the rules; they just work here."[6] The third style is followed by the Therapeutic Agent who views his role as an administrator of a form of treatment (usually casework-oriented) to help the offender.[7] Finally, the Synthetic Officer attempts to blend treatment and law enforcement components by "combining the paternal, authoritarian, and judgmental with the therapeutic".[8] The Synthetic Officer unknowingly attempts to solve what Miles calls "the probation officer's dilemma" by balancing administration of criminal justice (offender as wrong - but responsible for his behavior) with treatment (casework, offender as sick) goals.[9]

Quasi-Judicial Roles

Czajkoski builds upon the law enforcement component of the probation officer's job by developing the concept of his quasi-judicial role. Czajkoski builds his case upon five lines of functional analysis. The first is plea bargaining and the abdication of the judge from sentencing decisions. Since the probation decision is now largely determined by plea bargaining, the author cites Blumberg's argument that the probation officer serves to "cool the mark" in the confidence game of plea bargaining by assuring the defendant of how wise it was for him to plead guilty.[10] Thus, the probation officer simply certifies the plea bargaining process - a task which Czajkoski maintains undermines the professional role of the probation officer.

The second line of quasi-judicial functioning by the probation officer occurs at the intake level. For example, at the juvenile level, the probation officer is often asked to decide which cases are appropriate for judicial processing.[11] Like the prosecutor, this function permits the probation officer to have some control over intake to the court.

The third quasi-judicial function of the probation officer concerns setting the conditions of probation. The judge often gives the probation officer such powers. This often leads to discretionary abuses, since indefinite conditions (often moralistic and vague in tone) can become a vehicle for maintaining "the moral status quo as interpreted by the probation officer."[12] In addition, probation conditions can usurp or become substitutes for certain formal judicial processes. For example, the monetary obligations of the probationer (for example, supporting dependants) can be enforced by the probation officer, rather than by a court which is specifically designed to handle such matters.[13]

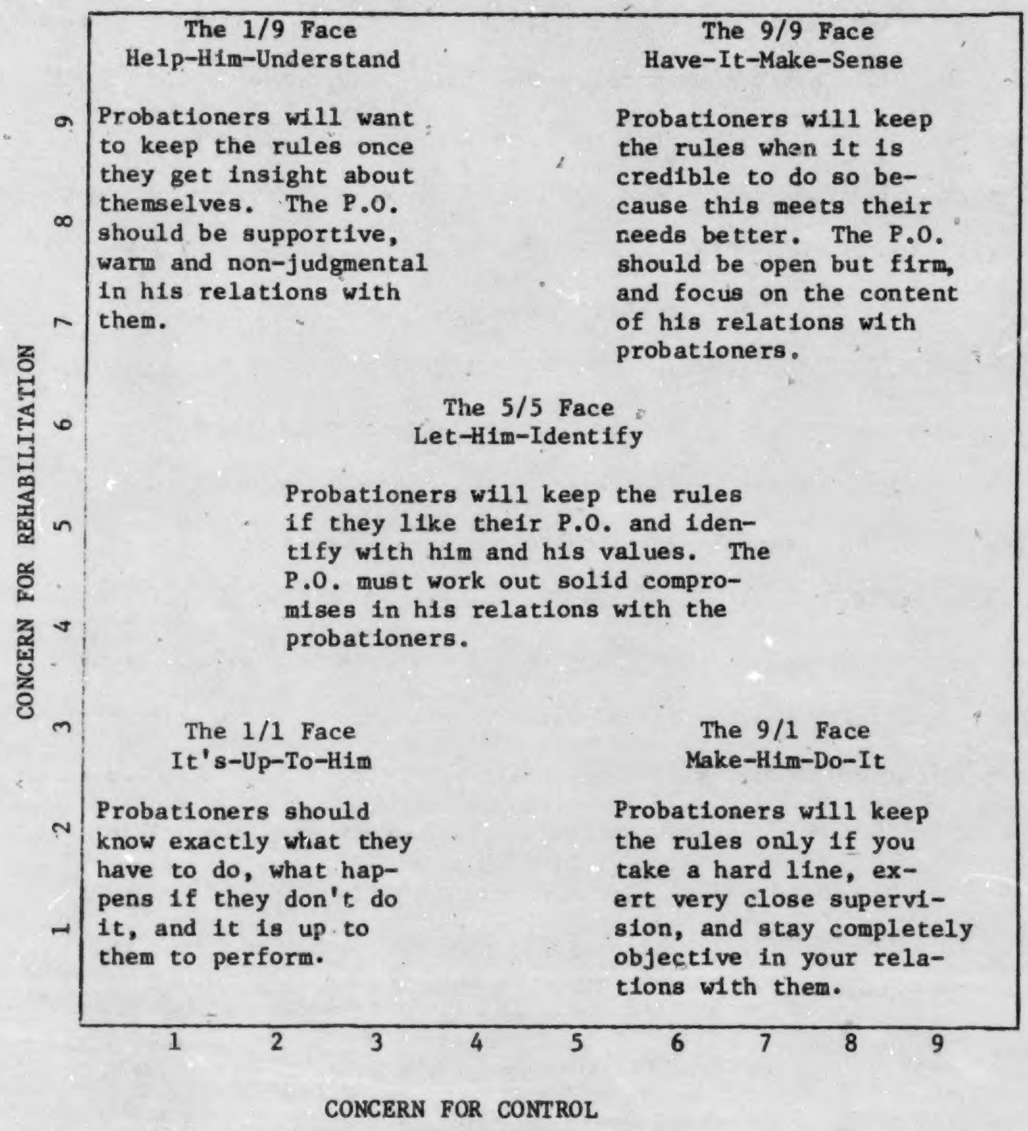
The fourth quasi-judicial role is concerned with probation violation procedures. Czajkoski contends that such procedures are highly discretionary, especially in view of the vague and all-encompassing nature of the probation conditions, which are usually not enforced until the officer has reason to believe that the probationer is engaged in criminal activity.

The final quasi-judicial role of the probation officer concerns his ability to administer punishment. Since the officer may restrict the liberty of his charge in several ways, this is tantamount to punishment.[14] In this fashion Czajkoski highlights some of the actions of the probation officer which relate to his function as a quasi-judicial official.

A similar "unveiling" function is performed by Tomaino in his article on the "Five Faces of Probation." The heart of his presentation revolves around the following grid:[15]

FIGURE 2.2

PROBATION GRID



The 1/9 Face
Help-Him-Understand

Probationers will want to keep the rules once they get insight about themselves. The P.O. should be supportive, warm and non-judgmental in his relations with them.

The 9/9 Face
Have-It-Make-Sense

Probationers will keep the rules when it is credible to do so because this meets their needs better. The P.O. should be open but firm, and focus on the content of his relations with probationers.

The 5/5 Face
Let-Him-Identify

Probationers will keep the rules if they like their P.O. and identify with him and his values. The P.O. must work out solid compromises in his relations with the probationers.

The 1/1 Face
It's-Up-To-Him

Probationers should know exactly what they have to do, what happens if they don't do it, and it is up to them to perform.

The 9/1 Face
Make-Him-Do-It

Probationers will keep the rules only if you take a hard line, exert very close supervision, and stay completely objective in your relations with them.

For Tomaino, the key probation officer role is the "Have it Make Sense" face which attempts to integrate the often-conflicting concerns of societal protection and offender rehabilitation. Accordingly, Tomaino recommends that the officer stress goals, not offender personality traits, to "organize legitimate choices through a collaborative relationship which induces the client to act in accord with prosocial expectations."[16]

Counseling Roles

A different but related role for the probation officer is also presented by Arcaya, who stresses the counseling aspect of probation. Arcaya recommends that the officer adopt a "dwelling presence" in which he openly accepts the ambiguity of feelings and responsibilities attached to probation work and uses it to develop an awareness of the officer's own humanity within the client.[17] To accomplish this objective, the officer should utilize "active listening"-- putting aside of all preconceptions and thus permitting the probationer to define himself and "responsive talking"-- a dialogue with the probationer to contextualize and situate the probationer's world in the knowledge that the client can serve as his own best advisor.[18] In this fashion, the officer can develop a style of empathetic understanding which goes beyond his original preconceptions.

Unlike the previous authors, Smith and Berlin consider the role of the probationer as an involuntary client. According to the authors, the probationer qualifies as an involuntary client due to the "degree of injury to self resulting from disregarding the conditions established by the agency."[19] In view of this occurrence, Smith and Berlin suggest that the probation officer adopt the role of "community resource agent" to bring the offender into contact with the agency and community resources which were designed to satisfy those needs.[20]

Probation Officers' Self-Images

At this point, let us consider the findings of three studies which attempted to test the existence of these "role images" of the probation officer through field research.

In a study undertaken in 1961, Miles surveyed all probation and parole officers on duty in Wisconsin on a single day (July 1, N=116). In addition, 48 officers were interviewed and accompanied into the field by researchers. On the basis of those data, Miles discovered that a majority of these officers held a basic identification with the field of corrections (61.5 percent). The clear majority of individuals identified themselves as probation officers when dealing with judges (81 percent), social agencies (69 percent), and potential client employers (79 percent).[21] These officers emphasized their identification with correctional work and did not wish to have this primary link absorbed by another area, for example, social work.

The survey also uncovered what is considered to be the basic dilemma of probation in terms of its primary goal—offender rehabilitation or societal protection. Apparently, experience plays the key role in the resolution of this problem by the officer. The experienced officer cited societal protection as his primary responsibility while seeking to maximize the client's potentialities in a non-therapeutic manner. On the other hand, the inexperienced officer is more concerned with his therapeutic function.[22] It appears that this dilemma is resolved with the passage of time, by the novice officer either resigning his position in frustration or adjusting his conceptions to meet those of the more experienced majority. Miles concludes that, until the state agencies provide precise definitions of the functions of probation and parole officers, this fundamental goal dilemma will not be resolved.

In a similar study, Sigler and Bezanson conducted a survey of a random sample of New Jersey probation officers in an attempt to elicit their role perceptions. The authors randomly selected 130 of a total population of 522 probation officers serving in New Jersey's 21 counties and reported a response rate of 55.4 percent (67/130). As Table 2.1 below illustrates, in every case, the probation officers asserted their desire to be identified with the field of probation.

TABLE 2.1

PREFERENCES FOR IDENTIFICATION[23]

	Percentage Citing "Probation Officer"
1. Preference for Identification by Judges	79%
2. Self-Identification	66%
3. To Employers of Probationers	76%
4. Description of Their Professional Activities to Community Leaders. (Correctional Work)	35%
5. To Friends	62%
6. To Police (Representative of the Probation Department)	85%

The implication drawn from this survey is that probation officers believe that probation is an autonomous entity and should not be confused or identified with other criminal justice agencies or functions.

In a similar study, Van Langingham, Taber, and Dimants sent questionnaires to 417 adult probation officers in selected probation services differing by region, level of urbanization, and level of education and recorded a response rate of 85.1 percent (355/417). The subjects were asked to rate the appropriateness of fifty-two tasks performed by probation officers. These respondents had the following characteristics:[24]

1. Sex: Male (90 percent)
2. Median Age: 36 years
3. Education:
    a. Bachelor's degree: (88 percent) Sociology was the main subject of undergraduate study (28 percent of the B.A. degrees).
    b. 62 percent had attended graduate school.
    c. 16 percent had received Master's degrees. Of these, approximately 50 percent were from Social Work.

The seven categories were ranked by their degree of appropriateness by the respondents in the following manner (from most appropriate to inappropriate):

1. Referral Function: Probation officer refers his client to other community resources for help or assistance.

2. Advice and Guidance: Providing fairly direct advice or guidance for day to day living.

3. Court Consultant: A well-established role in which the probation officer interprets for the court the social and personal factors of the client for decision-making purposes.

4. Psychotherapy: Utilizes the techniques based largely upon psychological orientation and is concerned with deep-seated emotional problems. Only agreed upon for use with the "unduly suspicious," "reckless risk-taking" or alcoholic probationer.

5. Law Enforcement: Detecting and apprehending violators. Only considered appropriate for two examples--checking to see if an alcoholic probationer is attending AA and if a probationer has made court appearances without your knowledge.

> 6. Environmental Manipulation: Attempt to directly influence the persons and organizations important in the probationer's adjustment. In this case, only one example was considered appropriate—speaking to a loan company on a probationer's behalf.
>
> 7. Conduct Establishment and Enforcement: The use of the officer's authority to attempt to coerce the probationer into behaving in accordance with the prevailing system of the community as perceived by the officer. In this category, none of the tasks reached the required level of appropriateness (67%).[25]

These ratings give some indication of the function of the probation officer considered most proper by field practitioners. The ranking order evident in this study, particularly the importance placed on the referral and guidance functions, is significant, and may reflect the large number of college educated probation officers in the sample.

Role Perception and Job Satisfaction

Mahoney tested the hypothesis that probation officers who had different role perceptions would also have different levels of job satisfaction. Mahoney defined his three role perceptions in the following manner.

> 1. Advocate: The primary task of the officer is one of enlisting in the cause of the client, being a supporter, advisor, and representative in dealing with the court, police and other agencies. There is a high stress upon the offender and the community. The officer is an integrator of community resources.
>
> 2. Counselor: The primary task of the officer is one of therapist and confidant. A supportive atmosphere of trust and understanding to foster insight in the client is stressed.
>
> 3. Enforcer: The primary task of the officer is one of law enforcement function. This involves investigation and surveillance stressing the protection of community standards.[26]

In his sample of seventy-five officers from the Kentucky Division of Community Services (total N=115), Mahoney found no appreciable difference with regard to their role perception and job performance. In fact, Mahoney concluded that, since the seventy-five officers surveyed were distributed fairly evenly among the three role categories, there is an apparent lack of consensus regarding the proper role for the probation officer. The same conclusion could be reached concerning the studies previously cited in this section.

Role of the Probation Supervisor

Another aspect of role perceptions of probation officer is the role of the probation supervisor. In his 1963 article, Garrett stated that the primary function of the probation supervisor should be to counsel his officers—"to improve their abilities and skills, they must have effective and meaningful assistance from capable supervisors."[27] Garrett believes that the ideal supervisor would possess the following traits:

> 1. He should believe that the performance level of each probation officer can be raised.
>
> 2. He should view the probation officer as an instrument to raise agency performance.
>
> 3. He should exhibit dedication, sensitivity, and perceptiveness.
>
> 4. His staff should fully understand the functions of his position. He should make periodic evaluations of his staff, including a full outline of their duties.
>
> 5. He should adopt a "non-critical" manner of supervision (i.e., the use of open group staff meetings).[28]

Thus, the supervisor's primary role is supportive, facilitating the performance of his officers.

Carrera outlined some of the major responsibilities of the probation supervisor. First, he has an educational responsibility to his officers—teaching and training to develop expertise and competence.

Second, he has administrative and managerial responsibilities: (1) to communicate, interpret, and clarify policies and procedures, (2) evaluate workers, (3) supervise case decisions, and (4) to see to it that the work flow is carried out in accordance with agency goals. Third, he has a responsibility to the community and, finally, a commitment to adapt agency policies and procedures to meet the changing realities of probation.[29]

In similar fashion, Cohen lists three main purposes of supervision. First, the supervisor should ensure a minimum of professional performance. Second, he should directly affect the performance of officers and, indirectly, that of the clients. Finally, the style of supervision should be determined by the supervisor, supervisee, and their setting.[30] Cohen lists the following components of the supervisor's role:

> 1. Consultant: Offers knowledge based upon experience and non-coercive advice.
>
> 2. Teacher: Exploits certain situations for their generalizability. Builds upon his wide access to a number of resources.
>
> 3. Supporter: Relieve tensions caused by the probation officer's job.
>
> 4. Judge: Determines whether or not the "functional distance" between officers and their clients is maintained.
>
> 5. Representative of the Administration: An "In Between" position.
>
>   a. Identify with the Administration: Emphasize standardization of policies and services.
>
>   b. Identify with the Field: Supervisor views himself as an upgraded probation officer, whose loyalty and identification remain with the field.

c. Maintaining an In-Between Position:
Determine your location on a case-by-case
basis, retain flexibility.[31]

Cohen states that supervision could develop in several ways in the future. The probation officer could be held accountable for his work as an official of public office and an officer of the court, or the officer's "professionalism" could be supervised. This final choice involves a stage by stage progression beginning with individual supervision (reviewing all cases at first--search them for their learning potential), group supervision (peer responsibility and discussion), and peer supervision (gradual takeover by group members).[32] These changes should attract creative and competent individuals to the field of probation supervision.

To the best of our knowledge, no studies have been conducted to determine the effect of probation officer role perception upon client's outcome. The need for such information is apparent. In fact, it should be possible to frame different evaluation strategies to meet the primary concerns of each role typology. For example, the "referral agent" role could be evaluated in terms of the number of successful referrals made in addition to recidivism-related measures. In this fashion, the final, and to some, most important question regarding probation officer role perceptions could be answered.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER II

[1] Lloyd Ohlin, et al., "Major Dilemmas of Social Workers in Probation and Parole", National Probation and Parole Association Journal, 2(3) (July 1956), as cited in: Frank C. Jordan and Joseph H. Sasfy, National Impact Program Evaluation: A Review of Selected Issues and Research Findings Related to Probation and Parole, (Washington, D.C.: MITRE Corporation, for the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, July 1974) p. 28.

[2] Daniel Glaser, The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1964), p. 431; as cited in: Jordan and Sasfy, ibid., p. 29.

[3] Dale G. Hardman, "The Function of the Probation Officer", Federal Probation, Vol. 24, No. 3 (September 1960), p. 8.

[4] Ibid., pp. 7 - 8.

[5] Carl B. Klockars, "A Theory of Probation Supervision", Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, Vol. 63, No. 4, (December 1972), pp. 550-1.

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[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid., p. 552.

[9] Arthur P. Miles, "The Reality of the Probation Officer's Dilemma", Federal Probation, Vol. 29, No. 1 (March 1965), pp. 20-22.

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[11] Ibid., p. 10.

[12] Ibid., p. 11.

[13] Ibid., p. 12.

[14] Ibid., P. 13.

[15] Louis Tomaino, "The Five Faces of Probation," Federal Probation, Vol. 39, No. 4 (December 1975), p. 43.

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[17] Jose Arcaya, "The Multiple Realities Inherent in Probation Counseling", Federal Probation, Vol. 37, No. 4 (December 1973), p. 60.

[18] Ibid., pp. 61-63.

[19] Alexander B. Smith and Louis Berlin, "Self-Determination in Welfare and Corrections: Is there a Limit?" Federal Probation, Vol. 38, No. 4 (December 1974), p.4.

[20] Ibid., p. 6.

[21] Arthur P. Miles, "Wisconsin Studies of the Function of Probation and Parole", American Journal of Correction, Vol. 27, No. 2 (1965), p. 23.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Jay A. Sigler and Thomas E. Bezanson, "Role Perception Among New Jersey Probation Officers," Rutgers Camden Law Journal, Vol. 2, No. 2 (1970), pp. 256-260.

[24] Dale E. Von Laningham, Merlin Taber, and Ruta Dimants, "How Adult Probation Officers View Their Job Responsibilities," Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 12, No. 2 (1966), p. 99.

[25] Ibid., pp. 101-107.

[26] Timothy J. Mahoney, "Role Preferences and Job Satisfaction of Kentucky Probation and Parole Officers," (Richmond, Kentucky: Eastern Kentucky University, Master's Thesis, 1975), p. 4.

[27] Edward W. Garrett, "Improvement of Officer Performance Through Supervision", Federal Probation, Vol. 27, No. 3 (September 1963), P. 45.

[28] Ibid., pp. 45-47.

[29] Joan Carrera, "Some Thoughts on the Probation Supervisor's Job," Federal Probation, Vol. 32, No. 3 (September 1968), pp. 28-31.

[30] Yona Cohen, "Staff Supervision in Probation," Federal Probation, Vol. 40, No. 3 (September 1976), p. 17.

[31] Ibid., pp. 17-20

[32] Ibid., p. 23.

CHAPTER III

ISSUES IN CASELOAD MANAGEMENT

Introduction

Probation practice in the United States requires the probation agency to stand ready to assist the Court both during and following the criminal sentencing process. Before sentencing, the agency may be required to provide a pre-sentence investigation report, which is intended to make available to the sentencing judge the type of information about the offender which the judge can use in the process of selecting the most appropriate sentence for the offender. In order to avoid undue delays in the sentencing process, most Courts require that pre-sentence investigation reports be completed and submitted within a specified period of time. To comply with the orders of the Court, the probation agency must be organized in such a way that sufficient personnel can be made available in order to complete the required number of pre-sentence investigation reports in an acceptable and timely fashion.

The second, and perhaps larger, duty of the probation agency is to assist the Court after the sentencing process. This duty requires the agency to accept for supervision all offenders who have been placed on probation by the Court. Depending upon the jurisdiction in which the agency is located, the offenders placed on probation may have committed almost any type of criminal offense, and may range from first offenders to "career" criminals. The numbers of offenders selected for probation may vary considerably over time, depending upon the state of the law in the jurisdiction, the political climate in the jurisdiction, and the

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prevailing philosophy toward the use of probation of the sentencing judge. In addition, the individual offenders placed on probation will vary considerably in the types of living problems (e.g., alcohol or drug abuse, family situation difficulties, lack of education or employment) which they face. Finally, there is likely to be at least some variation among probationers with respect to the type and extent of probation conditions imposed on them by the sentencing judges. As with the presentence investigation report requirement, this post-sentencing supervision duty of the probation agency necessitates an organizational structure which will enable the agency to efficiently and effectively handle the amount of work assigned by the Court.

Considering the complexity involved in complying with these duties, it is obvious that the probation administrator will be faced with a number of critical management problems. How can the agency be structured in order to ensure that both the investigation and supervision duties can be met? Should all probation officers be expected to perform both the investigation and supervision duties, or should officers be required to specialize? How can the agency efficiently handle the volume of probationers assigned by the Court? What are the different ways in which probationers can be assigned to individual officers' caseloads? Can the level or intensity of supervision be differentiated for various classes of probationers? How can the different living problems of probationers best be handled? Should all probation officers be expected to handle every kind of probationer problem, or should individual officers develop areas of specialization? Should the agency adopt a casework approach to probation supervision, or would a brokerage approach be more appropriate?

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What advantages might there be for organizing the probation officer force into teams, rather than utilizing the traditional single officer caseload model?

The answers to these questions for any specific probation agency will, of course, depend on many factors, including the prevailing philosophical and structural orientation of the department, the extent and direction of the flexibility possessed by the department, and the resources, both financial and manpower, available to the department. The discussion of these issues will focus on the organizational and administrative implications of various caseload assignment and supervision strategies. Our emphasis on the advantages and disadvantages of the techniques as revealed by the experiences of other departments can serve as an aid to the administrator who is attempting to select techniques appropriate for his agency.

It should be noted at the outset that many of the issues which will be discussed separately are, in reality, closely intertwined. These discussions should not be interpreted as "either/or" prescriptions. Rather, many of the strategies can easily be mixed into a variety of combinations. Treated separately, however, the issues to be discussed are: caseload assignment models, differentiated supervision levels, generalized vs. specialized caseloads, functional specialization, single officer caseloads vs. team caseloads, the casework approach vs. the brokerage approach, and the concept of workload.

Caseload Assignment Models

One of the first questions which a probation administrator must answer is how to apportion all of the probationers assigned by the Court to the available probation officers. There are several ways in which caseload supervision strategy adopted by the agency. Carter and Wilkins[1] have developed an excellent typology of caseload models which represent the major variations in assignment strategies. Underlying their typology is the assumption of the heterogeneity of the probationer population. This assumption recognizes that probationers as individuals will vary considerably, regardless of the characteristic in question. The models contained in the Carter and Wilkins typology are differentiated by the extent of their dependence upon discrimination among probationers based on similarities and differences of given probationer characteristics.

The first model is called the conventional model. This model is entirely independent of any consideration of the differences and similarities among probationers, and probationers are randomly assigned to available probation officers. Because of the random distribution of the probationer population among caseloads, each probation officer handles a caseload which is a miniature reproduction of the entire probationer population including, of course, the wide variations in personal characteristics. With the conventional caseload model, then, the probation officer must be able to supervise any type of probationer who happens to be assigned to his caseload.

Closely related to the conventional model is the numbers game model. This model may also ignore differences and similarities among probationer characteristics. The object of this model is to numerically balance all of the caseloads within the department. This balancing may be accomplished with or without taking the personal characteristics of the individual probationers into account. The numbers game model may be approached in two ways. First, the number of probationers to be supervised can simply be divided by the number of probation officers available to the department. Thus, if the department has ten probation officers and eight hundred probationers, every officer will handle a caseload of eighty. Second, the department can select an "ideal size" for each caseload and divide the number of probationers by this "ideal size," yielding the number of necessary probation officers. Under this method, if a department has eight hundred probationers and has selected fifty as its "ideal size" caseload, then it must provide sixteen probation officers. In addition to use with the conventional model of assignment, the numbers game model may also be used in modified form with the other assignment models discussed below.

The third assignment model is called the _conventional model with geographic considerations_. This model differs from the above-described conventional model in one respect: the caseload is restricted to residents in one type of geographic area, i.e., urban, suburban, or rural. Given the travel time involved in supervising an entirely rural caseload, the size of a rural caseload is generally smaller than those of suburban or urban caseloads. The caseloads, however, remain undifferentiated on the basis of the personal characteristics of the probationers, except to the extent that the characteristics of urban, suburban, and rural probationers may vary.

The remaining two assignment techniques are distinguished by their recognition of the presence of important similarities and differences among probationers. The most elementary of these techniques is called the single-factor specialized caseload model. This model groups probationers together on the basis of one single characteristic which they share. Examples of the types of characteristics include: drug or alcohol abuse, mental retardation, age, sex, type of offense, and high potential for violent behavior. The existence of one shared characteristic notwithstanding, the probationers within each single-factor specialized caseload may vary widely on other characteristics. For example, a caseload restricted to offenders between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one may still include individuals who differ considerably on many other variables.

Finally, there is a more complex model called the vertical model. This assignment model is based on the classification of probationers by more than one factor or characteristic. Often this classification is accomplished by the use of one of the various prediction devices which attempt to estimate the chances for a particular probationer to succeed or fail under probation supervision. These prediction devices are able to take into account a wide variety of individual characteristics and stress the similarities among individuals. Having classified all probationers in the agency caseload according to the chances of succeeding or failing on probation, this classificatory scheme can then be used in order to create individual caseloads composed of probationers who have roughly the same chances of success or failure. This model is referred to as "vertical" because it divides the offender characteristic curve into vertical slices in order to create caseloads.

In determining caseload size, all of the permutations of the numbers game approach can be applied to both the single-factor specialized caseload and to the multi-factor classification caseload. It is particularly applicable to the latter, since caseload size can be decreased in caseloads composed of probationers with a high risk of failure and increased for those caseloads composed of low risk probationers.

Administrators should keep in mind the potential implications of these assignment techniques on the operation of their agencies. Each model may require a somewhat different ratio of probation officers to probationers, different education or training for probation officers, and may tend to suggest different caseload supervision strategies. For example, the numbers game model has obvious implications for the number of probation officers which the agency must employ. In addition, the creation of any type of specialized caseload may require special in-service training for probation officers or may actually indicate the recruitment and hiring of new probation officers already trained with the skills necessary to supervise a special group of probationers. The selection of a given assignment technique may also have implications for the use of paraprofessionals and/or volunteers. Specialized caseloads, in particular, may be well-suited to a paraprofessional who has experienced and overcome a type of problem (e.g., alcoholism, drug abuse) which is used as the basis for caseload assignment. This is also true for volunteers, who may bring specialized talents and skills with their service. It is important to consider the implications of the numbers game and vertical models on the use of volunteers and paraprofessionals. Both volunteers and paraprofessionals can be an important tool in the handling of extremely large caseloads, regardless of the risk classification of the probationers. On the other hand, they can also be used with smaller caseloads, especially those composed of high risk probationers.

In addition to these operational considerations, the choice of an assignment model can affect the viability of certain supervision strategies. A number of supervision strategies will be identified and discussed in the following section. The advantages, disadvantages, and operational examples of these strategies will be presented, and the strategies will be linked, where appropriate, with potentially viable and reasonable assignment models.

Caseload Supervision Strategies

This section of the discussion of issues in caseload management will focus on five different types of supervision strategies which a probation agency may use. These strategies determine how the individual caseloads are handled after the probation population has been assigned to them. The five strategies - differentiated supervision, generalized vs. specialized supervision, functional specialization, single officer vs. team supervision, and casework vs. brokerage - will be described in terms of their purposes, operation, advantages, and disadvantages. Examples of existing strategies will be presented, and the experiences of the implementing probation agencies will be noted. Finally, we include a discussion of the concept of workload, which is of importance both in caseload assignment and caseload supervision.

Differentiated Levels of Supervision

During the past two decades, probation departments in the United States have devoted a great deal of attention to caseload sizes and their effectiveness. This interest spawned several projects which varied the level of supervision and examined outcomes for different types of probationers. In their Technical Issue Paper, Gottfredson, et al., discuss some of these caseload projects and point out that virtually all of the studies concentrated upon the examination of outcome indicators, notably recidivism, and overlooked the organizational and management implications of differential supervision. This section summarizes the definitions of levels of supervision, how the different levels of supervision translate into levels of contact and service delivery, and suggests some management issues regarding this subject which are not addressed in the literature and which could serve as a basis for future study.

Intensive Supervision

(1) Definitions:

The first phase of the well-known San Francisco Project studied the effects of differing levels of supervision on randomly assigned federal probationers. In their report on the intensive segment of the project, Lohman, Wahl, and Carter define intensive supervision as:

> a twenty-five unit workload based upon an average of twenty cases for supervision, including probations, parolees, and mandatory releases, and an average of one presentence investigation and report per month.[2]

In an experimental project in Florida, Nath, Clement, and Sistrunk state that the Intensive Supervision Project (ISP) consisted of supervisors with a reduced caseload of 35 clients and three investigations per month (50 workload units).[3]

In a Philadephia study, intensive supervision clients were defined as:

1. S/he is in the eight-week evaluation period;
2. The probation officer is the primary treatment agent, i.e., the client is usually being seen four times/month; or
3. The client is receiving ongoing primary treatment elsewhere and the probation officer is seeing the client on a moderate basis--usually two times/month.[4]

The intensive supervision component of the Denver High Impact Anti-Crime Program utilized a team approach to supervision. The three geographic areas of Denver which had the greatest number of residents on probation or parole (northeast, northwest, and southwest) had community offices staffed by three probation officers and served a total 217 probationers in a 15 month period in 1974-75.[5]

The findings from these projects support the assumptions about intensive supervision stated by Banks, et al., in their Phase I Evaluation of Intensive Special Probation Projects.[6] The major assumption with intensive supervision is that a multitude of benefits will flow from the increased contact between the officer and his client including:

1. Increased officer understanding.
2. Development of better skills in matching services to clients needs.
3. Better diagnostic assessments.
4. Improved treatment judgments.

Thus, the implied assumption is that the following causal link exists:

Decreased Caseload Size → Increased Contact → Improved Service Delivery & More Effective Treatment → Reduction in Recidivism Rates

(2) Levels of Contact:

As expected, levels of contact are addressed in each report in various ways. Tables 3.1 - 3.3 represent data presented in the individual reports.

TABLE 3.1

LEVELS OF CONTACT: FLORIDA PROJECT[7]

A. Mean Number of Contacts by Supervisor per Month

Type of Contact	Experimental	Control
With Offender	2.12	1.35
With Offender's Family	.97	.53
With Offender's Employer	1.12	.51

B. Mean Number of Hours Spent in Contacts by Supervisor per Month

Type of Contact	Experimental	Control
With Offender	1.12	.53
With Offender's Family	.39	.09
With Offender's Employer	.36	.07

Table 3.1A reveals that the experimental group received more contacts in each category from the supervisor (probation officer) than the control group (composed of supervisors with caseloads of 70 clients and 6 investigations per month) and these differences were reported to be statistically significant (alpha level of .05 or less). Similarly, Table 3.1B presents data which demonstrate that an increased amount of time was spent in contacts (total time investment) for the experimental group. The data thus support the contention that intensive supervision leads to increased contact between the supervisor and probationer.

TABLE 3.2

LEVELS OF CONTACT: PHILADELPHIA PROJECT[8]

A. Client Contact and Supervision Status

Supervision Status	Average Number of Monthly Contacts
Minimal	1.27
Moderate	1.72
Intensive	2.68

B. Client Contact and Caseload Size

Caseload	Frequency of Contact	Number of P.O.'s in Group
Over 60	1.04	9
40 - 60	1.34	41
Below 40	1.40	29

Rather than using comparison group, the Philadelphia Project compared contact levels between the three levels of supervision used within the experimental unit, and the findings tend to support the hypothesis that intensive supervision leads to increased contact.

TABLE 3.3

LEVELS OF CONTACT: SAN FRANCISCO PROJECT[9]

70 "Intensive" Supervision Cases, Northern District of California
September 1964 - November 1966

NUMBER OF CONTACTS	All "Intensive" Supervision Cases	
	Number	Percent of Known Total
TOTAL	70	100.0
Less than 5	4	5.7
6 - 10	4	5.7
11 - 15	9	12.8
21 - 25	4	5.7
26 - 30	3	4.3
31 - 35	3	4.3
36 - 40	0	---
41 - 45	5	7.1
46 - 50	4	5.7
51 - 55	0	---

Table 3.3 (Con't)

NUMBER OF CONTACTS	All "Intensive" Supervision Cases	
	Number	Percent of Known Total
TOTAL	70	100.0
56 - 60	7	10.0
61 - 65	3	4.3
66 - 70	5	7.1
71 - 75	5	7.1
76 - 80	2	2.9
81 - 85	1	1.4
86 - 90	1	1.4
91 - 95	1	1.4
over 100*	5	7.1

* 114, 120, 125, 168, 169

The random assignment of clients to the intensive supervision caseload continued over a two-year period. As a consequence, not all of the clients had been under supervision for the same period of time; supervision time ranged from one month to twenty-four months. Data from the project showed that, cumulatively, the clients of the intensive supervision caseloads had received 699 months of intensive supervision. During these 699 months, a total of 3,331 personal contacts with the probationers were made, or 4.76 personal contacts per intensive supervision month. The frequency distribution of contacts is presented in Table 3.3 above.

As these findings from intensive supervision caseloads indicate, there is support for Banks' contention that, although contact data are recorded, there has not yet been developed a procedure which assesses the quality of the contacts which are being conducted. We have seen that intensive supervision caseloads can double both the number of contacts between the probation officer and the client and the amount of time spent in contacts. It is important, however, to point out that the difference between spending one-half hour per month with a client and spending an hour per month with the client is, relatively speaking, an extremely small difference considering the magnitude of the treatment and service provision task which the probation officer is trying to accomplish. What is needed now is a procedure which will enable us to identify measurable factors which affect the quality of the contact between the probation officer and the probationer.

(3) Classification of Probationers and Treatment Services:

As Banks indicates, intensive supervision assumes that clients can be efficiently classified into groups for which different amounts of supervision are appropriate.[10] This assignment usually involves either some type of risk classification system (generally organized around a particular offender typology or result of psychological testing) or need classification (i.e. unemployed, drug or alcohol abuse).

With regard to our focal reports, a range of classification techniques were used. In Florida, stratified random sampling procedures were utilized to select clients for the experimental and control groups. These clients were chosen from geographic areas representing a cross-section of the eight districts of the Florida Parole and Probation Commission, including rural, as well as urban, areas. The entire population of clients consisted of individuals who represented "difficult high risks" and would not otherwise have been considered for probation or parole.[11]

In Philadelphia, intensive supervision was provided for high risk clientele consisting of sex offenders and persons placed on psychiatric probation.[12] As Banks indicates, the Philadelphia project takes a

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psychological/psychiatric approach to probation, emphasizing assessments.[13] However, no specific tool, scale, or statistical classification technique is mentioned in the report.

The Denver project also focused upon offender typologies. Clients were selected who committed the "high impact crimes" of assault, burglary, rape, or robbery. The assumption behind the reduced caseload size and the community location of the probation offices was that intensive supervision would increase the use of referrals to community agencies. For example, the data revealed that 380 referrals of specific clients for specialized services and over 600 general contacts for available services were made. Regarding employment referrals, 66 employment contacts were made (as well as 40 contacts for specific clients for particular job openings). In addition, the Denver employment specialists worked with over 200 clients, successfully placing 200 of them in positions. Other relevant project activities included use of the Denver Court Diagnostic Center (psychiatric evaluation) and community involvement and educational programs.

In San Francisco, Lohman and his associates define the selection process in the following manner.

> The "intensive" caseloads were established in September 1964, when a random selection reduced the existent caseloads from about eighty-five to twenty persons under supervision. Beginning at that time, persons newly placed on probation were assigned to the twenty man caseload on a one-to-one basis. As a consequence, a random selection began to replace those offenders who had been in the former eighty-five person caseload. In October 1964, random assignment to these special caseloads began for parolees or mandatory releases became available, they replaced those who had remained after the initial reduction from eighty-five to twenty. This process insured that the officers supervising the "intensive" caseload would, at the beginning supervise twenty persons and average one presentence investigation per month.[14]

In sum, the use of offender categories by type of offense would seem to be the dominant form of selection. Notice that prediction scales of any type were not used -- a fact that the Banks study also uncovered.[15]

This brief review of the concept of intensive supervision leads to the following definition of this term. As a form of probation supervision, the intensive form involves:

1. A reduced caseload size, with a P.O. to client ratio of approximately 25 to 1, which makes greater contact possible.
2. Use with a "high risk" category of offenders who have been assigned to the intensive treatment in the hope of reducing their recidivism rate by providing a greater service in a more efficient manner.

Minimum Supervision

It is a recognized fact that some clients within the probation agency caseload actually require very little supervision. These clients may present very few concrete needs which can be addressed by special services and pose little threat to community safety. It is believed that these individuals, who may comprise a large percentage of the total agency caseload, will perform acceptably and serve their probation period successfully without routine supervision and surveillance, required only to check in periodically with their probation officers, perhaps only in writing, to report their progress. The probation officer, of course, is still available to provide support and assistance should the probationer request it under special circumstances. This minimum level of supervision is justified on two bases: first, the offender simply does not need any higher level of supervision or service provision and, second, the manpower resources of the probation agency can more effectively be utilized in concentrating on those probationers who do present a variety of concrete needs or who do appear to pose a threat to the safety of the community.

(1) Definition:

The best example of minimum supervision found in the literature was the San Francisco Project. It should be remembered that the San Francisco Project consisted of random assignment of individuals to three other levels of supervision in addition to intensive supervision. These three other levels were:

1. Minimum supervision. Offenders on probation, parole, or mandatory release are required to submit a written report once a month to the United States Probation Office. This is the only required contact between the Probation Office and the offender. However, specific services or assistance requested by the offender, or matters brought to the attention of the Probation Office by outside agencies or persons, are acted upon. There are no routine or normal contacts with offenders in this caseload.

2. Ideal supervision. Offenders assigned to the ideal supervision caseload are contacted at least twice a month. The contacts may consist of group or individual counseling and may be conducted in the Office, the home, or the community at the discretion of the supervising officer. Ideal caseloads contain no more than forty probationers, parolees, and mandatory releases. The supervising officer conducts an average of two presentence investigations each month. This provides for a total of fifty workload units computed at one unit for each case supervised and five units for each presentence investigation.

3. Normal supervision. Normal supervision is not defined beyond being that amount of supervision and presentence investigation now accomplished by the majority of United States Probation and Parole Officers in San Francisco. The normal caseloads consist of the supervision of between eighty and eighty-five individuals and the completion of three or four presentence investigations each month. This provides for a total of approximately one hundred workload units, computed at one unit for each case supervisied and five units for each presentence investigation.[16]

As Lohman indicates, minimum supervision can be termed "crisis supervision" -- only that supervision which emerges from a crisis situation and is brought to the attention of the officer by the probationer, another agency, or person. Beyond this, the only other contact between the officer and the client is the written monthly report. It is important to note that the implication was that minimum supervision, in a de facto sense, had been the standard operating procedure in probation departments for years.

In the San Francisco Project, two phases of selection methods were utilized. During the random phase (Phase I), a representative group of clients were assigned to minimum supervision. Again, it was assumed that the probationer, other persons, or agencies would take the initiative in establishing contact with the officer. During Phase II, individuals were assigned to the four levels of supervision on the basis of a four-factor classification method employing current offense, prior record, age, and their score on the Socialization Scale (CPU-SO) from the California Psychological Inventory.[17] As Adams and his associates indicate, the scale score classification method of assigning cases was highly questionable since only one "expert judge" was used to interpret the scores.[18]

(2) Levels of Contact:

Again, review of the contact data reveals that measurement of the quantity of contact was emphasized and the nature of the quality of contact was ignored. Tables 3.4 - 3.6 present frequency distributions of the quantity of contacts under minimum supervision in the San Francisco Project.

TABLE 3.4

LEVELS OF CONTACT: TELEPHONE CALLS

Number of Telephone Calls	Number of Individuals	Percentage
TOTAL	118	100.0
None	59	50.0
One	23	19.5
Two	17	14.4
Three	2	1.7
Four	5	4.2
Five or more	12	10.2

TABLE 3.5

LEVELS OF CONTACT: OFFICE VISITS

Number of Office Visits	Number of Individuals	Percentage
TOTAL	118	100.0
None	71	60.2
One	20	16.9
Two	12	10.2
Three	3	2.5
Four	5	4.2
Five or more	7	5.9

TABLE 3.6

LEVELS OF CONTACT: MINUTES OF SUPERVISION

118 Minimum Supervision Cases, Northern District of California
September 1964 - August 1966

Number of Minutes	All Minimum Supervision Cases		Probationers	Institution Releases
	Number	Percent of Known Total	Number	Number
TOTAL	118	100.0	73	45
None	27	22.9	18	9
15 min. or less	23	19.5	19	4
16 - 30	19	16.1	15	4
31 - 45	11	9.3	8	3
46 - 60	4	3.4	0	4
61 - 75	11	9.3	5	6
76 - 90	5	4.2	2	3
91 - 105	3	2.5	1	2
106 - 120	5	4.2	1	4
121 - 135	2	1.7	1	1
136 - 150	1	.8	1	0
151 - 165	2	1.7	0	2
166 - 180	1	.8	1	0
Over 180*	4	3.8		

*229, 271, 273 and 468 minutes

Lohman, et al., summarized these findings in the following manner. During the 978 months of minimum supervision, there were 122 office visits, 162 telephone calls, and 32 other direct contacts with the 118 offenders, thus:

1. An office visit occurs every eight months of minimum supervision.
2. A telephone call occurs every six months of minimum supervision.
3. "Other" contacts (at home or in the community) occur every 30.5 months of minimum supervision.[19]

Comparing these levels with those of intensive supervision, it appears that, in terms of contact levels, the label "minimum" is appropriate.

Robison and his associates state that the authors of the San Francisco Project do not recommend that minimum supervision caseloads become the standard for correction. Rather, they suggest that caseload management be predicated upon expected violation rates for different categories of probationers. Thus, our emphasis upon minimum supervision as a separate aspect of the entire San Francisco Project may distort the meaning of the findings, but, at this point, the results meet our definition-based purposes and present a description of the meaning of minimum supervision.

Management Implications

In every case, the studies of differential supervision were designed to assess their effectiveness in terms of recidivism. This emphasis ignored the management implication of instituting differential supervision within a probation department.

A number of problems do exist. The first problem is the classification system utilized to place offenders in a certain caseload size. To date, these classification systems have been based upon a determination of risk or specific need. The major problem here is that no adequate "risk" classification system is known to exist. What type of offender will respond (i.e., refrain from criminal behavior) to a particular type of program? Even if the classification is made, the problem of matching the offender and the probation officer must be confronted. The basis for selection is by no means clear. Personality characteristics were often cited as a guide, but, again, knowledge of what kinds of offenders respond to what caseload size and type of officer has not been specified.

An additional problem is that the treatment involved in intensive supervision has not been clearly stated beyond being described as " increased attention". As we noted earlier, increased attention may actually be nothing more than spending one hour per month with each probationer rather than one-half hour per month. The problem of lack of clarity is present in the concept of minimum supervision as well, since an adequate response by a probation officer to a crisis situation may actually require more attention than is normally given to a probationer in an intensive supervision caseload. There is clearly a need to isolate and identify factors in the probation officer/client relationship which define the quality of contact, rather than simply relying on the mere counting of contacts and contact time.

In addition to the lack of direction, the probation officer has no guarantee that reduction in caseload size will lead to greater job satisfaction. In fact, if intensive and minimum caseload sizes are implemented in the same probation office, hostility and dissension may result. Officers with the larger caseloads of minimum supervision cares may interpret their assignment as "more work for less pay." This morale problem must be considered.

Given the fact that an oversized caseload could impede the delivery of probation services, reduced caseload size has its own particular set of problems for the probation officer, including the possibility of boredom, busy-work or supervision "over-kill" resulting in a subsequent increase in technical violations or client-dependency engendered by the increased attention of the officer. In other words, more attention must be given to task definition and the training and selection of probation officers under the differentiated level system.

The budgetary implications of differentiated levels of supervision have also been ignored. It has been taken for granted that reduction in caseload size equals a savings by way of outcome effectiveness. It has also been assumed that increasing the size of minimum supervision caseloads would increase cost/efficiency. It seems that a cost-benefit analysis of this subject would be in order.

In sum, the literature concerning differential levels of supervision has largely ignored the management implications of the concept in favor of a focus on outcome measures. Organizational effectiveness and efficiency issues should be addressed in future studies.

Generalized vs. Specialized Supervision

In this section, we will discuss the differences between generalized and specialized supervision. We will present some of the essential arguments underlying each approach, cite some operational designs being used in probation today, and finally address some of the management implications involved in the use of these approaches.

The generalist-specialist distinction relative to probation caseloads implies different philosophies, management techniques, and resource utilization to effect similar probation objectives. Simply stated for this discussion, one could define "specialists" as those probation officers and/or units which specifically or predominantly handle one type of offender, i.e., drug addict, misdemeanants, alcoholics, mentally retarded, sex offenders or violent offenders. Assignment to specialized caseloads thus is based upon one attitude or characteristic which is possessed by the probationer.

The "generalists" then, are those officers and/or units who handle a cross-section of cases irrespective of their special characteristics and deliver a full-range of services both to the probationer and the agency. Underlying the philosophy of generalized supervision is the belief that it is not the function of probation to handle specialized needs. Followers of this philosophy point to the many community services available and claim that it is the probation officer's job to find the appropriate service to meet the particular needs of his caseload. Many feel that most offenders have a multitude of problems with which even specialized supervision cannot begin to cope.

There are also the administrative aspects to consider. Many claim that it is simply too expensive to recruit, train, and operate specialized units when so many community services may already be available. They also claim that because of manpower shortages, it is simply more efficient to use generalized supervision relying on available resources to provide special needs. To have the community resources available and not to utilize them would be inefficient and a duplication of services. Those adhering to the specialized supervision philosophy believe that generalized supervision is not able to provide individualized treatment to "special" offenders. They claim that community resources are not always available or willing to treat offenders nor are probation officers always aware of the resources available. They point to large caseloads and overwhelming paperwork, claiming that by developing specialized units the probation officers can reduce their caseloads while those involved in the specialized units can not only become experts in their particular area of supervision, but can also contact and become more familiar with outside resources in the community.

Others, however, point out that specialized caseloads still cannot be considered homogeneous just because all probationer's assigned to the caseload share a single attribute or characteristic.[20] They note that treatment strategies must take into account the dissimilarities among the probationers as well as the similarities.

Both probation supervision philosophies have the same objectives. They differ, however, in their belief as to the most efficient and successful way to achieve these objectives. The following section will review some of the operational designs now being utilized in probation departments throughout the nation. Since most probation departments follow the generalized supervision philosophy, it is those that have introduced specialized units to which we shall devote most of our attention.

In 1973 the Pima County Adult Probation Department in Tucson, Arizona, instituted a specialist unit designed to provide special services for mentally deficient and mentally retarded probationers. For caseload assignment purposes, mental deficiency is based on borderline I.Q. scores.[21] The unit is composed of a program director, who acts as the probation officer for all cases referred to the unit, and three rehabilitation counselors. Original qualifications for the program director were a master's degree and five years of training in work with the mentally retarded. It was presumed that the necessary knowledge of corrections could be acquired on the job. Justification for the new unit was based on the lack of community resources necessary for adequate services to the department's mentally retarded or deficient clients.[22]

The goals of the program are to develop improved methods to reduce recidivism, to enable the client to assume his rightful place in a community job and living situation, and to enable each client to develop his maximum potential in terms of economic, emotional, educational, and social development.[23]

The program consists of three primary elements: 1) Identification of mentally deficient probationers, with emphasis on the mentally retarded; 2) Training program; and 3) Individual casework. Identification of potential unit clients is done through initial testing; those clients with low test scores are given full-scale follow-ups. The training program was designed to educate the criminal justice community in methods of dealing with mentally deficient and retarded offenders. Finally, and most importantly, is the individual casework conducted by the staff. "The program has adopted a rather simple treatment modality which is a composite of several recognized modalities. It involves the following techniques: (1) Supportive techniques; (2) Clarification; (3) Interpretation, and (4) Environmental manipulations."[24]

The program has not been quantitatively evaluated to date, however the program has had some problems that may be common to other similar specialized units. They are:

1. Failure to provide for a pre-planning period produced numerous bottlenecks.
2. As regards size of the program staff, the program director and one half-time stenographer were the sole initial authorization, and this was most assuredly inadequate.
3. The criminal justice community received very little advance preparation for participation in the program.
4. We wasted much productive time while developing a reasonable system for identifying their clients.[25]

It is apparent from this list of problems experienced by the Pima County Department that most could have been avoided if the pre-planning involved in establishing the unit had been more thorough. Administrators contemplating the creation of a specialized unit of any kind should take steps to ensure the adequacy of the pre-planning process.

In spite of these problems, the department felt that the criminal justice community was beginning to understand that the mentally deficient have special needs and, coupled with this, the program is providing the courts with some viable alternatives to incarceration for mentally retarded and deficient offenders. They also felt that placing the program in the Probation Department facilitated community acceptance of the program. Future plans include a more comprehensive and meaningful analysis of data.

Beginning in September 1973, the Specialized Misdemeanant Probation Program in Whatcom County, Washington, was created to handle minority offenders, especially Indians, persons on probation for "driving under the influence", and recidivist misdemeanants convicted of alcohol-related offenses.[26] A special counselor was hired, with the Director of the Probation Department acting as the project director. The goals of the project were to:[27]

a) stop individuals from re-offending.

b) provide a full-time counselor to work with 35 clients allowing accelerated supervision and follow-up.

c) aid in placing the individual in work and training programs.

d) develop community treatment programs, and refer clients to in-resident treatment programs when applicable.

e) reduce the per day population of the target group in the county and city jails by 1/3 based on a man/day index.

Treatment included accelerated and intensive supervision and follow-up, placement in work and training programs, and referrals to out-patient treatment programs, and referrals to in-resident treatment programs when applicable. This treatment was provided by the special counselor, also a minority group member, who was expected to be able to relate more effectively to the minority group probationers.

The following findings were reported by the evaluation of the program:

-The recidivism rate for clients utilizing the services of this program was reduced by more than 50%
-The seriousness of subsequent reconvictions of clients who did reoffend was reduced significantly.
-Substantial savings to the county in terms of law enforcement, adjudications and treatment of clients were made due to the reduction in the rate of recidivism.
-Approximately $61,000 was saved the county and city in not having to house offenders in local jail facilities.
-Almost $10,000 has been collected in fines from clients placed on probation with the District Court.
-Statistically, it would appear that the type of treatment offered clients, be it out-patient referral, Alcoholics Annymous, in-resident treatment or frequency of contact with the probation office, was not significantly related to whether a client recidivated or not.[28]

Acceptance of these findings must be preceded by clarifying several points with respect to the design of the evaluation. First, is was assumed that the recidivism rate for the whole group of probationers assigned to the program would be nearly 100 percent, since virtually all of the probationers had been convicted of numerous offenses previously. After their assignment to the program, however, 42.3 percent were actually reconvicted of new misdemeanors. The assertion that client recidivism was reduced by more than 50 percent, then, is based solely upon the assumption that, without participation in the program provided by the specialized unit, the client recidivism rate would have been close to 100 percent. The determination of the seriousness of subsequent reconvictions also used the group of probationers as their own comparison group. The seriousness of offenses index which was used takes into account both the seriousness of the offense and the repetitive nature of the criminal behavior. It was found that the probationers in the specialized caseload had an average seriousness of offense rating of 5.06 for all prior convictions and an average of 1.96 for all subsequent convictions.

Although the report asserts that the program saved the city and county approximately $61,000 by virtue of not having to house offenders in local jail facilities, this savings figure is questionable for several reasons. First, the figure assumes that all of the Program clients would have been incarcerated if the specialized program had not been established. It further assumes that all the clients would have been required to serve the maximum amount of time set by their sentences. Neither of these assumptions seems to have been substantiated. Finally, the use of the figure of $9.09 per day as the cost of incarceration is open to question because its derivation is not explicit. If it contains only the variable costs of incarceration it may well be a reasonable figure, if however, it also contains part of the fixed costs of the jail facility, its use will artificially inflate the calculation of cost savings.

Finally, the last finding in the listing quoted above is not supported by the data contained in the report. A statistically significant difference was found when frequency of contact was examined. The report states: "There is a significant relationship between client recidivism and the frequency of contacts with the probation officer."[29] The direction of the relationship indicated that clients having monthly contact with their probation officers were significantly less likely to recidivate than those clients having either no contact or having weekly contact with their probation officers. There is, however, no indication of the reasoning behind the assignment of clients to each contact level; assuming that this assignment to differing contact contact levels was not random, we cannot conclude that the differences in outcome were actually related to differences in frequency of contact. The lack of statistically significant relationships between recidivism or no recidivism and the other treatments offered (Alcoholics Anonymous, out-patient referral, or in-resident treatment) is supported by the data provided.

On July 1, 1972, the Connecticut Department of Adult Probation implemented Drug Units in three major metropolitan areas.[30] Simply stated the logic behind these drug units was: to gain the controls necessary to abort the addict's lifestyle and increase his prospects for recovery, a great deal of time is necessary.[31] Thus, caseloads were reduced to thirty-five probationers per probation officer. Clients for the special units were drawn from regular caseloads by a process of referral from the "line" Probation Officers, and therefore tended to be the more "difficult" cases.[32]

The general or line probation officer had an average caseload of 112 probationers, completed an average of 6.3 pre-sentence investigations per month, and conducted .8 personal contacts per client per month, usually at the probation officer's request and at the probation office. He also averaged .70 telephone contacts per client per month. The Drug Unit Officer, while not adopting a treatment orientation, did intensify supervision. He made 2.5 in-person contacts via home visits, school or job site visits, or visits at the place of drug treatment. He averaged 1.6 telephone contacts per client per month.[33]

It is very difficult to compare the general caseloads and the drug unit, since the two represent different levels of difficulty and different types of offenders. However, in regard to recidivism rearrest, it was found that the Drug Unit's rate was 20 percent and that of the general caseload was 32 percent. The major conclusion was that intensive supervision seems to be a useful tool in the management of probationers who have drug-related problems.[34]

Maryland's Special Offenders Clinic was established in May, 1972 and has since provided a program of close probation supervision and weekly group psychotherapy for sexual offenders and violent offenders.[35]

Clients are referred by judges, the Division of Probation and Parole, and the Parole Board but can be refused at the discretion of the clinic staff. There is one probation officer assigned to the clinic with full responsibility for the clinic caseload. He has a background in psychology and has continued to do graduate work in that field. The program evaluators observed, "The officers needed such a background in order not only to carry out probation work, but to understand the therapeutic approaches used to work hand in hand with the group therapists."[36]

During most of the program's life, the caseload has been approximately seventy to eighty cases with forty to fifty cases on intensive supervision. Activities of the clinic's Probation Officer include requiring clinic patients to report to his office on a regular basis, carrying out home visits and employment investigations (on a more frequent and consistent basis than with general supervision), as well as dealing with clients' marital, work, and financial problems. The Probation Officer is also responsible for developing community resources, along with contacting social service workers, private physicians and employers. Additionally, the Probation Officer intercedes for his clients in court proceedings and participates in formal court activities involving clinic patients.[37]

Evaluators of the use of the Special Offenders Clinic as an adjunct to probation services posited recommendations based on some concerns over proper referrals to the clinic: "It is recommended that new procedures be developed for screening of potential cases through the Parole Board and the Division of Parole and Probation and the Courts"[38] They implied that, while a regular agency probation officer was assigned the clinic caseload, communications between the clinic and the referring agencies were still not highly effective.

It was also recommended that "other officers be assigned to the clinic on a part-time basis in order that more probation officers gain experience in the supervision of such a special caseload."[39]

Another example of a specialist Drug Unit is located in Philadelphia County Department of Probation.[40] The goals of this unit are as follows: 1) to provide the addict offender with services in the form of intensive supervision, counseling, education, referrals and rehabilitative treatment, and 2) to provide pre-sentence evaluations, and related services for pending drug cases.[41]

The unit has 16 "counselors" with an average caseload ranging from 94 to 116 per counselor per month. Probationers are referred to the community for a diverse range of social services, including public assistance medical care, mental health, education, employment services, and drug treatment agencies. Counselors also engage in "collateral contacts" including discussions with clients' families, employers, lawyers, etc. Drug Unit counselors also attend weekly classes in case management and

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therapeutic techniques at a local hospital's Mental Health and Mental Retardation Program.[42]

Three outcomes were evaluated: treatment, recidivism, and residential stability. The results are as follows:

> Treatment:
> Comparison of the percentage of a sample of Drug Unit probationers receiving treatment for drug problems to the percentage derived from a sample of General Supervision probationers, (identified by Probation Officers as having a drug involvement), indicates that a comparatively high percentage of the Drug Unit group is in various types of drug treatment.
>
> Recidivism:
> The results of a retrospective examination of criminal recidivism (measured by subsequent arrests) indicate that the rate for a sample of Drug Unit probationers is approximately 33%, during a six-month "at risk" period. The comparable rate for a sample of General Supervision probationers, identified as having a drug involvement, is approximately 52%; The rate for General Supervision probationers is approximately 17%. Of those subsequently arrested, the Drug Unit sample accounted for less arrests, but is similar with respect to the average number of arrests-per-person, to the General Supervision drug sample. These results indicate that the Drug Unit is effective in attaining the goal of reducing overall criminal recidivism. However, it appears that Drug Unit probationers account for more property crime arrests than does the General Supervision Group. Conversely, the General Supervision Drug Group tends to be arrested for drug charges at a higher rate than the Drug Unit sample.
>
> Residential stability:
> Compared to General Supervision drug-involved counderparts, Drug Unit probationers appear to be more residentially stable. A comparison of the percentages of individuals who have remained at the same address during the previous 12 months indicates that 7.5% of the Drug Unit sample, versus 25.5% of the General Supervision drug sample, are characterized as "unstable". These results point to the effectiveness of the Drug Unit staff in assisting Drug Unit clients in the maintenance of a degree of community stability."[43]

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While evaluators concluded that the Drug Unit is a valuable treatment, social service, and administrative unit within the Department of Probation, the following recommendations were made, many applicable to similar programs:[44]

1. In the matter of total caseload size, attention must be paid to the development of criteria and the initiation of procedures which will narrow the Drug Unit's focus to those clients who are most receptive to the kinds of services which the Unit offers. A counselor staff of fifteen cannot be expected to supervise a caseload which numbers 1,750 clients. Rather, the goal of 50 probationers per counselor should be held up as a desirable ratio, in order to reduce administrative burdens, and to increase service delivery capability.

2. In the interest of enhancing the climate in which appropriate relations between staff and clients can be developed and maintained, it is recommended that the Drug Unit's physical facilities be organized to afford an increased degree of confidentiality between counselor and clients in the office setting. The use of partitions would seem to be one way in which the setting could be altered.

3. In the matter of judge's description in assigning drug probationers to treatment as a condition of probation, efforts should be made, by means of appropriate educational materials (e.g., instructional manuals) to acquaint the judiciary with the available range of treatment options and related procedural avenues.

4. With respect to the inordinate amount of time spent on diagnostic work (evaluations) aimed toward recommending one or another dispositions of drug-involved probationers, it is recommended that such time-consuming activity might be made more efficient by the use of dictating machines, which we understand are at the disposal of Drug Unit Probation Officers. The use of this equipment should be encouraged.

5. With respect to the potential invalidity inherent in in-prison evaluations, it is recommended that Probation Officers assigned to such evaluations should receive appropriate training in clinical and related areas, in order to decrease the possibility of inappropriate diagnosis of the nature and extent of the drug problem of the individuals under consideration.

6. In the matter of the one-month delay in probationers' processing time (between adjudication and reporting to the drug unit), a time associated with a high rate of criminal recidivism, it is recommended that the probationer be directed to report immediately to the General Supervision Probation Officer to whom he or she is assigned. The probationer can subsequently be reassigned to the Drug Unit for evaluation.

7. Urinalysis testing as a measure of continued drug use -- It is recommended that urinalysis testing be continued, based on individual counselor option, for "therapeutic" purposes. Since it is known that urinalysis testing, or its threat, can be an effective deterrent to

heavy drug use, it is deemed advisable that testing capabilities be maintained. We do not, however, recommend this procedure as a valid measure of continued drug use. The rationale for this recommendation lies in the inherent difficulty in administering urinalysis testing on a random basis.

8. Group "therapy" sessions, formerly held within the Drug Unit, should be reinstituted. There are reports that the sessions were beneficial and supportive for those clients for whom this type of therapy is appropriate.

The Narcotic Treatment and Control Unit (NTCU) is one of a variety of State-funded intensive supervision programs operated by the Los Angeles County Probation Department.[45] Cases are assigned to the NTCU as a result of felony convictions, therefore these clients do not choose this help voluntarily. The officers in the NTCU must be proficient in "chemical testing for drug use, skin checks for injection sites, detoxification procedures, familiarity with the current drug scene, and the ability to talk in the user's language."[46] "Throughout the period of supervision the Unit uses a team approach. Although each individual case is assigned to a specific officer, each officer in the Unit knows each probationer and is able to pick up affirmative supervision at any time the assigned probation officer is not available."[47] Emphasis is on a one-to-one relationship, and while resources are acknowledged in the community, primary reliance for treatment is placed upon the probation staff.

There was no comparable control group available to study the NTCU, however the evaluators were able to use the clients' past histories to draw some findings. Their studies indicated that the NTCU was providing services to a population of long-term drug users. Significantly, many offenders were also involved in a variety of prior non-drug related offenses. Despite the history of this group, fully one-third of all cases reported favorably and were not returned for a new offense for a period extending to three years.

A substantial savings was shown when the NTCU was compared to a similar program within an institutional setting. The NTCU client cost was $60.29 per client per month while the California Rehabilitation Center recorded a cost of $282 per case per month.[48] The above specialized units are just a brief sample of the diversified special units being employed in probation departments. A recent study conducted by the Georgia Institute of Technology evaluated intensive probation programs (ISP) throughout the nation and summarized their major findings, most of which are supported by our brief analysis. Their findings are as follows:[49]

1. The literature is inconclusive that caseload reduction results in a decrease in recidivism. In fact, many studies have shown increased recidivism which has been attributed to higher levels of surveillance.
2. Several recent caseload reduction projects claim decreases in the recidivism rate, but the associated evaluation designs may not be strong enough to warrant such claims.
3. There is only weak evidence for success of volunteer probation projects.
4. Projects specializing in serving particular client groups offer evidence of successful outcomes.
5. Unfortunately, relatively few projects use an evaluation design which permits attribution of success to the project.
6. Not much information is available about the elements in the reference framework for ISP. This problem is caused in part by the short time span of many evaluation efforts.
7. There are no standardized measures for process or outcome variables in ISP.
8. There is some doubt that truly intensive supervision can ever exist since client contact can only occur for such a small duration of the probationer's waking hours.
9. There is almost no real cost evaluation in ISP. Most cost analyses have only compared the cost of ISP to the cost of incarceration.

In summary: Almost every element of information about ISP is knowable through direct empirical study yet almost nothing is scientifically known and little will ever be known until measurement techniques are improved.

Most of these research findings deal with the problems of research and effectiveness and not necessarily with the management implications involved in these programs.

Many of the management implications have been touched upon. However, we feel that it is important to reiterate those previously mentioned and to develop those not discussed. To begin our discussion of management implications, it would facilitate matters to keep in mind that any change in an organization, whether it is a structural, human, or technological change, will have an effect upon the entire organization.[50] Each of the implications discussed brings into play a whole host of new problems and considerations, some that will be mentioned and other that are unforseeable at this time. First, the logical beginning of any specialized unit is staffing. This includes both the recruiting and training of personnel. The question to ask is whether to recruit and train probation officers from general supervision or to recruit "specialized" persons from outside the agency. This question poses several problems. On one hand, general probation officers are more familiar with probation in general and the problems associated with supervision. Yet to train them as "specialists" will involve time, money, and a new orientation to probation. To employ "specialists" from outside probation means familiarizing them with probation and supervision. In either case, we still must decide whether pre-service or in-service training is more appropriate. Another staffing issue involves the use of paraprofessionals whose backgrounds may be especially relevant to dealing with "special" offenders.

The issue of the division of work is also important. For instance, who will be responsible for completing the pre-sentence investigation and initial classification of offenders? Administrators are already faced with some communication problems. Specialized units may cause internal strife and additional breakdowns in communication. One basic task that should be completed before a specialized unit is initiated is to review the literature to see if one can determine when specialized units work and under what conditions they are most appropriate. Some of the criteria to apply are as follows: is the department large enough to support a specialized unit? is there a sufficient demand for a specialized unit? are the resources already available in the community? and if they are, does the department have access to them? Any new changes such as a specialized unit should be given careful consideration, especially in terms of the cost involved. Usually the special units are smaller than general units; this naturally will increase costs, as will hiring specialists or training probation officers. Many probation departments base their budgets on caseloads; if so, specialized units could cause some new budgeting problems. Most new programs such as specialized units are given "special" funding allocations. When these funds expire, there will be some real, long-term implications for the personnel involved. There is no room for empire-building when it may sap scarce resources from other areas, and may reduce the overall effectiveness of the probation department.

Many of these questions can be answered by new research. Cost benefit and cost effectiveness studies can greatly aid administrators when considering specialized units. Early consideration of management implications can help departments prepare for new problems that may arise.

In conclusion, one can only reiterate some of the basic issues emerging out of the generalist-specialist distinction. Critical to the discussion are questions of efficient and effective manpower allocation, realistic needs of probationers, probation as a method of supervision, and as a therapeutic resource.

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Many agencies will no doubt have to balance administrative decisions on existing funding, availability of community resources, make-up of their specific target population, levels of expertise within their department, as well as manpower restraints and basic probation policy.

Single Officer vs. Team Supervision

The tasks of probation supervision and service provision have traditionally been performed by a single probation officer who is solely responsible for the probationers in his caseload. The single officer caseload has been closely associated with the casework approach to supervision, in which the emphasis is on the development of a personalized, one-to-one relationship between the probation officer and the individual members of his caseload. In recent years, however,many probation departments have been experimenting with the team approach to supervision and service provision. This method involves the assignment of a probationer caseload to a team of probation officers, with an emphasis on both the diversity of needs of probationers in the caseload and the diversity of probation officer skills which can be assembled in one team.

This section will discuss the concepts of the single officer caseload and the team caseload, noting the arguments for and against each supervision approach. We will also try to draw out the implication of each approach for other management issues, such as probation officer training and the use of volunteers and paraprofessionals. Finally, we will examine some operational examples of the team approach to caseload supervision.

As mentioned above, the traditional model of caseload management and supervision in probation has been the single officer caseload. Under this model, a caseload comprised of a certain number of probationers is assigned, through some assignment technique, to an individual probation officer.

Regardless of the extent of homogeneity of the characteristics of the probationers in the caseload, the single probation officer is solely responsible for the supervision of and provision of necessary services to all of the probationers in his caseload.

There are several reasons why this model has continued in use for so many years with so little modification. First, it is obviously the easiest and most simple method for a probation department to use in dividing up the tasks which the department must perform. The number of pre-sentence investigation reports which must be prepared can easily be divided among available probation officers and, similarly, new probationers can quickly be assigned to an individual officer's caseload.

Another reason for the use of the single officer caseload is the widespread acceptance of the casework approach to probation supervision. This approach is discussed more fully in another section, however, we will note here that one of the most important features of the casework approach is its emphasis on fostering and maintaining a personal, one-to-one relationship between the probation officer and the probationer. This is, of course, quite consistent with the assignment of the probationer to a single probation officer.

Finally, the issue of accountability for the performance of a probationer under supervision is used as an argument for single officer caseloads. The single officer arrangement facilitates the evaluation of the officer's effectiveness with respect to the performance of the probationers under his supervision and allows the probation agency administration to make comparisons of effectiveness among all officers in the agency.

The use of single officer caseloads has other management implications for the agency. Since the model requires that each officer must be able to handle all of the tasks required by the agency and to supervise and provide services for a wide variety of probationers, each officer must not only be able to prepare competent pre-sentence investigation reports and carry out routine supervision and surveillance procedures, but also must be able to accurately assess the needs of a great many different individuals and then to provide the necessary services himself or make appropriate referrals. This wide variety of duties which the probation officer must perform requires each officer to possess a broad range of abilities and specialized skills. Such a requirement has implications for the education and training of the agency's probation officers. The statutes and administrative regulations of the various jurisdictions within the United States set out pre-service educational requirements for probation officers which range from graduation from high school to possession of a graduate degree. When specified by statute or regulation, the preferred area of academic specialization tends to be the social and behavioral sciences. Although there is not evidence to indicate that academic achievement in these areas will ensure that probation officers will in fact possess the range of skills and knowledge necessary to efficiently and effectively handle all of the types of needs and problems presented by the probationer population, there is a greater likelihood, as Comanor points out, that, "... a common base of knowledge is assured, enhancing internal communication and cooperation."[51]

The fact that most probation administrators will be dealing with probation officers possessing an academic background which **emphasizes** the social and behavioral sciences and faced with the task of supervising and providing services for probationers with a wide variety of needs may raise implications for the type and extent of in-service training which the agency will want to offer. If the administrator assumes that the agency's probation officers share similar academic backgrounds with respect to the broad concepts and orientations of the social sciences, he may wish to offer, in addition to the traditional training which emphasizes rules, regulations, and procedures, more specialized in-service training which is designed to familiarize the officer with techniques and services which are geared toward specific categories of offenders, such as drug and alcohol abusers, the unemployed and underemployed, the first offender, etc. This type of specialized training is particularly important if the agency uses the conventional caseload assignment technique, which virtually assures the heterogeneity of each officer's caseload. If the agency classifies its probationers on the basis of single or multiple factors, each type of specialized training need not be given to all probation officers; rather, each officer can take only that specialized instruction which pertains to the type of porbationers he is supervising.

With the use of the single officer caseload, the size of each caseload is also important. Although the available research in the area of caseload size has not been able to establish a number which represents the maximum caseload size which a single probation officer should be able to handle, it is, nevertheless, reasonable to assume that there is a caseload size which constitutes the greatest number of probationers which one officer can supervise. Data from the National Survey of Corrections of ten years ago show that slightly more than two-thirds (67.05%) of the adult felon probationers were in caseloads of more than one hundred probationers each.[52] Twenty years ago, Reed noted that, "Average supervision caseloads (excluding predisposition investigations) of 135 per officer are not uncommon for large metropolitan adult probation departments. The average adult and juvenile probation and parole caseload in this country is estimated to be 250 per officer. In extreme cases the individual officer caseload has exceeded 1,000 per officer!"[53] Given caseloads of these sizes, it is reasonable to ask whether a single probation officer can deal with such a number of probationers.

One phenomenon which is often associated with extremely large caseloads is termed "tunnel supervision" which is defined by Eckman as "the concentration of supervisory time on a few of the most difficult cases with only prefunctory supervision of other cases."[54] The problems associated with large, heterogeneous caseloads assigned to a single probation officer have encouraged the use by many probation agencies of volunteers and paraprofessionals. The use of these personnel will be discussed in detail in a later section, however, we will note here that both volunteers and paraprofessionals are considered by many probation agencies to be extremely helpful in assisting the probation officer with the supervision of and provision of services to a large caseload comprised of probationers with widely differing needs.

Sullivan has summarized the major criticisms leveled at the single officer caseload approach:[55]

> ... it is questionable whether probation officers in the traditional casework approach (that is, where each probation officer is given his own caseload) are capable of effectively dealing with either the increased number of probationers or with the diversity of probationers accompanying the increased input. It seems that time constraints alone militate against maintaining the casework approach as presently applied in probation work. In many departments, casework has now become little more than short, infrequent reporting sessions in which the probation officer and probationer discuss major problems the offender might have. The probation officer has little time, if any at all, for follow-up work in the community ... In general, the present mode of operations in many probation departments has been to maintain minimal involvement in the community, often, in the long run, providing detrimental to the probation officer's work. For when community resources are needed to assist probationers in their adjustment, the probation officer is frequently unfamiliar with the various resources available.
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> Even if it were operationally possible to maintain a casework orientation in probation, it is debatable whether such an approach is desirable, at least for the majority of probationers. Does every probationer need the type of "treatment" or type of relationship which seems to be emphasized in the casework model, namely, between probation officer and probationer?

As a step in the direction of reorganizing probation resources in order to effectively and efficiently meet the needs of their clients and to most effectively utilize the talents of probation personnel, many probation agencies are adopting the team approach to supervision and service provision. Under the team model, a caseload of probationers is assigned to a group of probation officers who function together as a small work unit called a team. The team as a whole can operate on a generalist or a specialist model, that is, the team may supervise a broad range of clients, e.g. drug or alcohol abusers, property offenders, probationers with problems with employment, etc. In the same manner, within the team, each officer may specialize in the provision of a specific service, or all officers may be expected to provide all necessary services. The question of the extent of sepcialization within the team notwithstanding, there are several arguments advanced for the use of the team approach to probation supervision.

The first argument generally presented in favor of the team model is that it is possible to offer the probation client a broader range of expertise and skills than would be available from a single officer. The team can be composed of several probation officers, each possessing different but complementary skills and areas of interest, thus making available to each client in the caseload the widest possible array of problem-solving talents.

Closely associated with this argument is the argument that the increasingly larger caseloads which probation agencies must handle can be better dealt with using team supervision. Instead of, for example, four officers each with an individual caseload of eighty probationers, the team model would assign a caseload of three hundred and twenty probationers to a four-officer team. Proponents of the team model argue that several advantages accrue to this arrangement. First, team members are familiar

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with most of the clients in the caseload, thus enabling supervision and service provision to clients to continue uninterrupted in the event of one team member's absence. Second, advocates of the single officer model emphasize the importance of the positive relationship between the officer and the probationer. Advocates of the team model, however, point out that the benefits of this relationship are lost if the probation officer and the clients are not compatible. But, using the team model, each probationer has a greater likelihood of finding an officer with whom he is compatible and feels comfortable. However, Abadinsky reports that some probation and parole officers criticize this particular aspect of the team approach, believing that dealing with several officers, rather than just one, is too confusing for the probationer.[56] Third, the members of the team can specialize by function, with one or more other officers specializing in intake and, perhaps in conjunction with one or more other officers, handle most of the caseload classification. Another officer might perhaps specialize in routine supervision and surveillance checks, while other officers would handle the actual provision of services and the referrals to other social service agencies. Fourth, as mentioned above, the officers who make up the team may wish to specialize by area of expertise and interest. Under this arrangement, one officer might deal with the drug or alcohol problems in the caseload, another officer with the employment problems or vocational training needs of clients in the caseload, and another officer with clients who need assistance in obtaining educational advancement. Finally, the adoption of the team approach places accountability for the performance of the caseload on the team as a whole, rather than on an individual probation officer. Thus, both the decisions about the appropriate supervision and service provision strategies for a particular probationer and the responsibility for the probationer's performance under supervision are shared among the members of the team.

As we saw, under the single officer caseload model, all officers in the agency should have generally the same pre-service educational background, since all officers will be doing much the same task. Under the team model, however, the administrator has greater flexibility in pre-service educational background, because members of a probation team are expected to bring different skills and interests to their team. Any specialized in-service training which the agency offers can be given to those officers who are interested in and specialize in that area for their own teams. Since the use of teams encourages the development of specialized skills directed at specific categories of probationers, the administrator may wish to consider designing an in-service training curriculum which uses the agency's own officers as instructors.

Although any of the previously described caseload assignment techniques can be used with the team supervision approach, it is most common for a probation agency to employ either a single-factor specialized caseload model or a multi-factor, vertical model. These two models are considered most appropriate since they emphasize specialization in the delivery of probation services and capitalize on the strengths and talents of the various members of the supervision team.

The team approach also offers many opportunities for the agency to use volunteers and paraprofessionals. One or more volunteers or paraprofesionals can be assigned to a particular team, depending upon the needs of the team and the special skills and interests of the volunteer or paraprofessional.

Sullivan has developed three models for probation teams which are distinguished on the basis of the correctional philosophy around which each is organized. These models are the Resource Coordinating Model, the

Reintegration Team Model, and the New Careers Model, and are discussed below.[57] The correctional policy types used by Sullivan were developed by O'Leary and Duffee, and are based on the extent of emphasis which an organization places on concern for an offender and on concern for the community.[58]

Resource Coordinating Model. This model is based on O'Leary and Duffee's rehabilitation policy which assigns very high concern to the needs of the offender and low concern to the needs of the community. Under this policy, probation treatment focuses on changing the attitude and behavior of the client through fostering a positive, trusting relationship between the probationer and the probation staff. When this rehabilitation policy is translated into the Resource Coordinating Model of supervision, the casework approach characterizes the relationship between the probationer and the team. The team is primarily concerned with a complete characterization of the probationer's current situation, a thorough assessment of his needs and potential, an evaluation of the level of supervision required by the probationer, and the extent of treatment and services which would most benefit the probationer. Although a concern for the community is not paramount under this model, Sullivan notes that "... the team as a whole attempts to familiarize itself with the services available in the community and put them at the disposal of the team's probationers in a coordinated fashion."[59] The function of the team supervisor under this model is primarily managerial, concentrating on the efficient coordination of the team's activities.

Reintegration Team Model. The reintegration policy places more emphasis on the effects of the community on the probationer and recognized that "... no matter how much insight he gains about himself, he is frequently not given the opportunity to behave differently by those in the community who control access to community resources."[60] Under the Reintegration Team Model, the team tries to change not only the probationer, but also the community. The probationer himself becomes more involved in making the decisions which affect his period of probation and the services which he will use. More emphasis is placed on efforts by the probation team to encourage the community to participate in providing necessary services for the probationer. The advocacy and brokerage roles which are discussed in more detail in a later section, become more important for the probation team.

New Careers Model. While concern for the probationer and the community are both accepted under this model, the probationer is expected to handle the major role in his own readjustment. Probationers thus are permitted to participate to a significant extent in the development of their probation plans. It is assumed that the example of this participation will enable the probationer to maintain the ability to make his own constructive decisions after he is released from probation supervision. This model also recognizes the possibility that some probationers may develop permanent careers for themselves in probation and encourages those probationers who are interested and capable to assist the team with other probationers in the caseload by helping with individual or group counseling or developing positive relationships with community agencies.

With respect to the implementation of these models for team supervision, Sullivan states:[61]

> The models presented here are broad. Specific applications will be determined in large part by organization size, geographic area, community needs, types of offenders sentenced to probation in the community and manpower constraints. By and large, each department must tailor a model or series of models to fit its own needs.
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> The three models described here may be implemented on a progression basis, each model being built upon the other, giving the previous model a qualitative broadening of scope.

Very little research was available which attempted to evaluate the effectiveness of efficiency of team supervision. The few reports which were gathered tended to be primarily descriptive, or did not treat the team supervision model as the independent variable. For example, one probation department evaluated the effectiveness of reduced caseloads and team supervision on impact offenders.[62] The treatment given to the experimental group consisted of both intensive supervision through reduction of caseload size and supervision by a team of two probation officers. It was, therefore, impossible to separate the effects of intensive supervision from the effects of team supervision and, as a matter of fact, the subject of team supervision was not mentioned again after its introduction on the first page of the report.

Two other reports were located which addressed the issue of team supervision. One study, done in Baltimore by the Maryland Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services, also combined intensive supervision with team supervision, but included a description of the variations on the team model which were used and an assessment of some of the problems encountered with team supervision.[63] A second study, done by the Albuquerque Municipal Court, compared the relative effectiveness of the team supervision approach, the volunteer supervision approach, and the traditional probation supervision approach.[64] Finally, several reports describing the purpose and organization of Community Resource Management Teams were found. Although these teams have not yet been evaluated in terms of their effectiveness or cost, a considerable amount of descriptive material has been published and will be discussed.

The Baltimore project was designed to effect a significant reduction in impact crimes committed by probationers and parolees who were under the supervision of the Division of Parole and Probation. The primary treatment

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mechanism was to identify impact offenders and to provide intensive differentiated supervision, which was defined as "intensive personal intervention into the offender's situation, attacking specific problems of each individual offender and tapping available community resources needed to reintegrate the offender into his community."[65] Caseloads were limited to twenty offenders who were judged to be in need of intensive supervision. Supervision of these caseloads was structured on the team model with several modifications. First, the probation officers were organized into pairs of officers. This "buddy" system was intended to ensure that both partners would be familiar with each other's caseloads, would work together, particularly with their field work, would help each other in developing treatment plans for individual probationers, and would be available to handle one another's caseload if one partner was absent. All of these "buddy" pairs were then organized into four teams. Within each team, each member was expected to develop an area of specialization, e.g. drug or alcohol abuse, employment problems, etc. Each team met weekly to discuss individual cases and to allow team members to share their ideas and suggestions about the development of treatment plans. Representatives of other community social service agencies were also invited to attend these weekly meetings.

Building upon this team model, the project developed the concept of the "collective team." This approach was characterized by the assignment of cases to the team as a whole, rather than to one officer or one "buddy" pair. Any or all members of the collective team participated in all phases of the probation or parole process. No one single officer had total responsibility for nay individual client. Another feature of the collective team was the emphasis on the client's participation in the development of his own treatment plan. Thus, "the client was able to feel that he was a part of the team, minimizing the stereotypes concept of the agent as a 'giver' of services or orders and the client as the 'receiver' of same."[66] It was believed that the collective team approach would be beneficial in several ways: 1) it would allow better observation of client response to the treatment plan, 2) officers could develop complementary roles in dealing with clients, and 3) the client would have some choice in deciding with which officer he would prefer to work at any given time. The primary disadvantage of the collective team was found to be the inefficient use of the officers' time. Since caseloads had been limited to twenty cases for a single officer, the collective team, consisting of four officers, handled a caseload of eighty. More and more of the officers' time was required to be spent in working out the logistics of what each officer would be doing at any given time. It also became increasingly difficult to organize the operation of the team so that all officers would be involved with every aspect of the treatment and supervision of the entire caseload. The project staff, in assessing the advisability of continuing the collective team, collected arrest and conviction data on the collective team caseload and on the caseloads of the other teams and found that the collective team did not appear to be any more effective in reducing rearrest and reconviction than the other teams. Because of the problems of inefficient use of time and size of the caseload and the fact that the collective team approach did not prove to be more effective, its use was discontinued.

The Albuquerque project was designed to explore the effectiveness of two frequently-recommended alternatives to traditional probation supervision -- supervision by volunteers and team supervision. The object of the study was to assess the relative effectiveness of the three types of probation supervision by means of a true experimental design, employing random assignment to the two experimental groups (team supervision and volunteer supervision) and the control group (traditional supervision).

Outcome variables included: pre- and post-test scores on the Mooney Problem Check List and the California Test of Personality, number of contacts with the probationer or on behalf of the probationer, time spent with the probationer or with others on his behalf, length of time required to attain stated correctional goals, number of correctional goals developed and percentage of stated goals attained, rating on two survey questionnaires (one completed by the probation officer and one by the probationer upon termination from probation), number of agency referrals, securing of employment by the probationer, number of probation violations, arrests during the period of probation, and arrests following termination from probation. In null form, hypotheses stated that there would be no significant difference among the three types of probation supervision on any of those outcome variables.

As mentioned, the clients were randomly assigned to one of the three supervision types. Clients were adult males and females who had been placed on probation by the Albuquerque Municipal Court following conviction of misdemeanor offenses.

The team consisted of two probation officers and two paraprofessionals, none of whom had previously been employed as a probation officer. All four members of the team were responsible for all probationers assigned to the team. Although each team member was expected to specialize in a particular area, their roles were interchangeable if necessary. Two members of the team were primarily responsible for court-related activities, including pre-sentence investigation reports. One member was responsible for liaison with community agencies and the other member was responsible for field supervision. To minimize contact with the traditional probation group and the volunteer supervision group, the team was located in a storefront office which was removed from both the central probation office and the municipal court.

The volunteer supervision group consisted of approximately seventy-five unpaid citizens who provided supervision for one to three probationers. The volunteers were recruited, screened, selected, trained, and supervised by a full-time staff member who was designated as Director of Volunteers. After receiving required training, each volunteer was matched with a probationer who had been randomly assigned to the volunteer group. Matches generally took into consideration such factors as common interests, languages spoken, geographical location, age, needs, and working hours. Volunteers supervised from one to three probationers at any given time.

The term "traditional probation" was not defined beyond being "... a term used to describe the probation supervision system that existed prior to the implementation of this project."[67] The traditional probation supervision group consisted of three experienced probation officers.

Results of tests for statistical significance indicated that the volunteer group had significantly more direct contacts with the probationers, more indirect and on-behalf contacts, more overall contacts, spent more time on direct contacts, indirect contacts, on-behalf contacts, and all contacts, developed more correctional goals, and received a higher rating on the client's perception of how well the volunteer got to know the client than did either the team members or the traditional officers. Compared to only the traditional approach, the team approach had significantly more direct contacts, more indirect contacts, more total number of contacts, more time spent in direct contacts, more total time spent, a higher percentage of stated correctional goals attained, and a higher rating on three of the five questions on the probation officer's survey form. While the team attained a higher percentage of their stated correctional goals than did the traditional officer, the team had actually developed a significantly lower number of such goals than had the traditional officer. With respect to recidivism outcome measures, there was a statistically significant difference among the three groups, with the volunteer groups having significantly fewer arrests following probation than either the team of the traditional group. The team group had fewer arrests following probation than did the traditional group, however, the significance level was lower than that of the difference between the volunteer group and the team and traditional groups. There were no significant differences among the three groups on arrests during the period of probation, number of probation violations, and job placement.

In addition to comparison of outcome measures, the Albuquerque project also performed an analysis of the comparative costs of the three types of supervision. In figuring the costs of each method of supervision, only staff salaries, and the miscellaneous expenses of the volunteer group were included. It was assumed that the fixed operating expenses could be considered equally applicable to all three methods and thus could be omitted. It was also assumed that fifty percent of an officer's time was devoted to pre-sentence investigations and fifty percent to supervision. Thus, the figures provided for the cost of supervision represented fifty percent of the total annual cost. The calculated costs are presented below:[68]

$$\frac{\text{Cost of Traditional Supervision}}{\text{Number of Clients Supervised}} = \frac{\$16{,}076.95}{216} = \$74.43 \text{ per probationer}$$

$$\frac{\text{Cost of Team Probation}}{\text{Number of Clients Supervised}} = \frac{\$17{,}82\text{[illegible]}36}{315} = \$56.60 \text{ per probationer}$$

$$\frac{\text{Cost of Volunteer Probation}}{\text{Number of Clients Supervised}} = \frac{\$\ 5{,}232.20}{124} = \$42.20 \text{ per probationer}$$

From these figures, it can be seen that the cost of volunteer supervision is only fifty-seven percent of the cost of traditional supervision, and the cost of team supervision is seventy-six percent of the cost of traditional supervision.

The project report reached the following conclusion:[69]

> The results of this study strongly support the hypothesis that the volunteer approach and the team approach are effective probation supervision alternatives. Of the 105 variables investigated in the comparison of the three probation methods, the results indicate that the volunteer approach is the most effective. The team approach while not deriving as great a gain as the volunteer approach, nevertheless, demonstrated superiority over the traditional probation method in terms of some of the variables investigated here.
>
> Overall, the individual Team members felt that their program had been successful. When asked to cite the reasons for success, the following were given: allowed for diversification of opinions on certain cases; the specialization of services provided more opportunity for additional contacts with the client and more involvement in appropriate community agency referrals; more effective communication among probation officers; an enhanced opportunity for continued learning based upon a sharing of knowledge and experience by individual team members; and the ability to provide on-going, continual client services even in cases of illness or vacations by individual probation officers. Their analysis of impediments to success included the following: 1) selection of team members could have been more strongly based upon a wider cross-representation of different disciplines and expertise ..., 2) certain team members not assuming their share of caseload responsibility, 3) poor understanding of the team concept by administration, traditional probation staff and other outside sources, and 4) the failure to designate a team leader at the time of selection of the team members.

Another type of team arrangement which has been developed recently is the Community Resource Management Team. There are currently seventeen Community Resource Management Teams (CRMT) operating in the United States.[70] The creation of these teams is part of a project being conducted by the Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education which organizes and provides training for the teams.

Under the CRMT concept, the team is a service broker rather than a service provider. This means that, in addition to fully utilizing existing community resources to meet the needs of probation clients, the team members act as managers of community resources and services rather than as managers of their clients. If services needed by the clients are not available in the community, it then becomes the task of the team members to convince service providers to offer the needed services or to modify and refine existing services to become more useful to the probation clients. The CRMT approach emphasizes the development of strong linkages between the community service providers and the probation agency, which is accomplished by fostering and maintaining open, continuous communication between the staff members of the probation agency and the staff members of the community service agencies.

Although team styles may be flexible, there are several basic concepts which characterize the orientation of a Community Resource Management Team:[71]

> Each offender's tangible normative needs must be assessed rather than assessing psychological problems.
>
> Caseloads must be pooled on the basis of tangible normative needs rather than indiscriminate assignment to one agent.
>
> The role of the agent must be that of broker/advocate rather than counselor/caseworker.
>
> The total staff must be used as a team who offer their differential skill collectively rather than being isolated individuals operating alone.

The systematic process of tracking the delivery of community services to probationers is accomplished by the practice of having one member of the team acting as liaison with one agency or a set of agencies which provide common or related services. This team member can then monitor both the probation agency's use of a particular community resource agency and the extent and quality of resources and services which the agency provides to the probation clients.

The development of these Community Resource Management Teams began in 1975, however, there has not yet been an attempt to evaluate their effectiveness, efficiency, or cost relative to other methods of probation service delivery and supervision. Descriptive reports by Miscione, McNamara, and Obley, Woodson and Miller have been published which attest to the "success" of these teams, however, these claims have not been supported by adequate evaluations.[72]

Summary

Single officer caseloads have been the traditional model for probation supervision and service provision. Several factors have contributed to the usage of this model: the predominance in probation of the casework orientation, the facility with which required probation tasks may be divided and assigned, and the issue of accountability for the performance of probationers under supervision. There have been some disadvantages of the single officer caseload model, however, which have caused some concern. These problems include pre-service and in-service training, caseload size, and caeload heterogeneity.

The team supervision model is one of the approaches which has been developed as an alternative to the single officer caseload. The team model reflects an attempt to address the problems raised by the single officer model and, in addition, to expand the scope and quality of services provided to the probationer. Several variations on the team approach were presented, including Sullivan's conceptual models, the "buddy" system and the "collective team" of the Baltimore project, and the Community Resource Management Team model.

Unfortunately, virtually no evaluative research was found. The single officer caseload has apparently been accepted without evaluation. The team model is relatively new, and such operational programs have not yet been subjected to rigorous evaluative research. The single exception is the Albuquerque Municipal Court study, a true experimental design which compared the relative effectiveness of three supervision models -- volunteer supervision, team supervision, and traditional probation supervision. Based on the results of this one study, we may tentatively conclude that team supervision appears to be superior to the traditional single officer caseload model in some respects and also proved to be less costly. It is anticipated that much more will be known about the effectiveness and efficiency of team supervision when the Community Resource Management Teams are evaluated.

Casework vs. Brokerage

Virtually all probation deaprtments manifest an identifiable orientation toward what is considered by a given department to be the "proper" approach to probation supervision and service provision. This orientation may not be explicitly stated but can be discovered by examining the departments' attitudes and practices concerning the role of the probation officer and the relative emphasis placed on the probation officer or community agencies in the delivery of needed services to probationers.

In this section, we will discuss the two major approaches to probation -- casework and brokerage. It must be kept in mind that, as discussed, these approaches are "pure" types; that is, the discussion will be presented as though the approaches were mutually exclusive, and a department would adopt either a casework approach or a brokerage approach but could not combine any features of the two approaches. Of course, in reality, many features of the two approaches can be mixed in a great variety of combinations, so it would be unusual if any two probation departments exhibited precisely the same approach to probation supervision and service provision. These approaches, then, can be viewed as extreme positions but most departments adopting positions somewhere along the continuum.

The traditional approach to probation supervision has been the casework approach. At the outset, we should note that casework is not synonymous with social work; rather, it is just one of the three major specialities of social work, the others being community organization and group work.

Many definitions of casework and social casework have been offered. Bowers has provided this frequently-cited definition:[73]

> Social casework is an art in which knowledge of the science of human relations and skill in relationship are used to mobilize capacities in the individual and resources in the community appropriate for better adjustment between the client and all or any part of his total environment.

Meeker has elaborated further:[74]

> The modern emphasis in social casework is upon discovering the positive potential within the individual and helping him exploit his own capabilities, while at the same time revealing external resources in his social and economic environment which will contribute to his ability to assume the mature responsible obligations of a well adjusted individual. It is therefore apparent that the basic element in casework is the relationship between caseworker and individual in trouble.

From these definitions, we learn that casework emphasizes the attempt to change the behavior of the client through the development of a supportive one-to-one relationship between the caseworker and the client. Because of this close relationship, the casework approach views the caseworker as the sole, or at least the primary, agent of treatment for the client.

By following a casework approach, the probation officer will also follow the basic assumptions of social work. Trecker devides these assumptions into four categories -- assumptions about people, assumptions about problems of behavior, assumptions about the social worker, and assumptions about the relationship between the social worker and the client.[75] One of the assumptions about people is that "... people can and do change in their behavior when they are given the right help at the right time and in the right amount."[76] With respect to behavior problems, it is assumed that, because problems of people are complex and intertwined with the person's total living situation, treatment of those problems must be individualized. The primary treatment agent is assumed to be the social worker, and his most important tool is the quality of the relationship he creates with his client. Finally, it is assumed that the client must be motivated to participate in the treatment process; consequently, a key element of the working relationship between the social worker and the client must be the development of the client's desire to change his own behavior through his active involvement in the change process.

Trecker also identifies seven broad principles which characterize the way in which the social worker approaches his day-to-day tasks:[77]

1. The principle of study and diagnosis. -Basic to all treatment is the principle of study and diagnosis. By this we mean that the social worker must study the individual, his behavior, his motivations, and his situation. He must endeavor to analyze with care and with diligence the possible factors which enter into the specific behavior. It is impossible for social treatment to take place unless the worker understands the causative factors that give rise to the situation.

2. The principle of individualization. -The principle of individualization means that each person is different and each situation is different. Therefore, treatment plans must be individualized and must be designed to meet the needs of a given person at a given time.

3. The principle of focus and objectives. -It is important for us to realize that the treatment process, the same as the educational process, must have clearly defined objectives and must have a clearly defined focus. Actually, treatment is a step-by-step proposition and personality change comes about in stages rather than in a dramatic or sudden way. When the worker determines exactly what it is he wants to have happen with the individual and when he draws up clearly defined objectives he is able to measure and evaluate his treatment plans.

4. The principle of relationship. -Before change can come about it is necessary for the individual and the worker to become related in an effective professional way. This means that the worker will exercise a conscious, controlled use of himself and through his warmth, acceptance, and understanding, he will strive to create a bond of feeling which will help the individual to

understand the basis for his difficulty and what he can do about it.

5. The principle of participation. -The principle of participation means that the social worker and the individual must both be involved, or both working together. Participation engages, motivates, and mobilizes the individual for change. Since there is no real change unless the individual, himself, wants to change, it is extremely important that treatment be looked upon as a participating process.

6. The principle of community resources. -As a matter of principle modern social workers are increasingly accepting the fact that they must use all of the resources available in behalf of each individual served. This means that we shall work with other agencies and with other services in order to create the most favorable climate for change.

7. The principle of continuous evaluation. -The principle of continuous evaluation means that we shall constantly check up on our work and shall strive to determine the extent to which we are being effective. It means, too, that we shall maintain a degree of flexibility so that we can modify and change our methods as circumstances require.

One common thread running through these definitions and principles is the idea that the casework relationship, to be effective, must be entered into voluntarily, or at least willingly, by the client. The relationship involved in probation supervision, however, does not rest on the voluntary participation by the probationer, but rather on the authority of the probation officer. Under the casework approach, then, it is important to resolve this conflict between the voluntary self-determination of the probationer and the authority inherent in the probation officer's position.

Many authors are characterizing the authority of the probation officer as an important tool which can be used in the treatment process. Mangrum, for example, refers to the use of "coercive casework," and states, "While it is true that effective casework is not something done to or for the client, but with him, it is also true that sometimes it is a matter of some action which gets his attention or holds him still long enough for him to recognize that there is motivation from within ..."[78] Studt notes that it is important for the probationer to learn that "... authority is power to help as well as power to limit..."[79] Hardman feels that authority, properly used by the probation officer, can be an extremely powerful tool in social service. He believes that all individuals, not only probationers, entertain both positive and negative feelings toward authority and that one of the primary responsibilities of the caseworker is to help the client try to understand and accept his conflicting feelings and to learn new ways of controlling and expressing those feelings.[80] Dressler would agree with the foregoing opinions, feeling that, "... authority, properly conceived, far from impeding the casework process, actually is an essential element in it."[81]

We have seen, then, that the essential task of casework is to change the behavior of the individual client. This change is accomplished through an individualized treatment process which is based upon a positive, supportive, one-to-one relationship between the probation officer and the probationer. Through study and diagnosis of the individual probationer, his behavior, and his living situation, the probation officer develops a plan of treatment in which the probationer should participate. The authority inherent in the probation officer's position is seen as a valuable treatment tool.

Almost diametrically opposed to the casework approach is the brokerage approach. Under this approach, the probation officer is not concerned primarily with understanding or changing the behavior of the probationer, but rather with assessing the concrete needs of the individual and arranging for the probationer to receive services which directly address those needs. Since the probation officer is not seen as the primary agent of treatment or change, there is significantly less emphasis placed on the development of a close, one-to-one relationship between the probation officer and the probationer. The probation officer functions primarily as a manager or broker of resources and social services which are already available from other agencies. It is the task of the probation officer to assess the service needs of the probationer, locate the social service agency which addresses those needs as its primary function, to refer the probationer to the appropriate agency, and to follow up referrals to make sure that the probationer actually received the services. Under the brokerage approach, it can be said that the probation officer's relationship with community service agencies is more important than his relationship with an individual probationer. The brokerage approach does share with the casework approach the importance of the probationer's participation in developing his own probation plan.

By 1973, the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals was recommending that the probation system should "redefine the role of probation officer from caseworker to community resource manager."[82] The Commission report characterized the new approach as follows:[83]

> To carry out his responsibilities as a community resource manager, the probation officer must perform several functions. In helping a probationer obtain needed services, the probation officer will have to assess the situation, know available resources, contact the appropriate resource, assist the probationer to obtain the services, and follow up on the case. When the probationer encounters difficulty in obtaining a service he needs, the probation officer will have to explore the reason for the difficulty and take appropriate steps to see that the service is delivered. The probation officer will have to monitor and evaluate the services to which the probationer is referred.

The Commission also addresses the problem of the individual probation officer providing services which may be available elsewhere. They encourage the reliance of probation departments on other social service agencies by suggesting that:[84]

> Probation systems should not attempt to duplicate services already created by law and supposedly available to all persons. The responsibility of the system and its staff should be to enable the probationer to cut through the barriers and receive assistance from social institutions that may be all too ready to exclude him.

Becuase the brokerage approach, with its emphasis on the management of community resources, requires intimate knowledge on the part of the probation officer of the services in the community and the conditions under which each service is available, it may not be feasible for each officer to accumulate and use this vast amount of information about all possible community service sources. It has been frequently suggested, therefore, that the brokerage of community services might be more easily handled if individual probation officers were to specialize in gaining knowledge about and familiarity with and agency or set of agencies which provide related services. For example, one officer might become extremely knowledgeable about all community agencies which offer services for individuals with drug-related problems, while another officer might specialize in all agencies which handle unemployed or underemployed individuals. Regardless of whether officers decide to specialize or would prefer to handle all types of community agencies, the essential requirements under the brokerage approach is for the probation officer to develop a comprehensive knowledge of the resources already available in the community and to use those resources to the fullest extent for the benefit of his probationers.

Closely related to the brokerage approach is the role of advocacy. Several authors have recently stressed the advocacy role for probation officers.[85] Recognizing the fact that some services which probation clients need will not be available in the community, these authors suggest that, rather than trying to supply those needed services themselves, probation officers should concentrate on working with community agencies to develop the necessary services. This will ensure that these services will be available not only to probation clients, but also to any other individuals within the community who might require them.

As we have seen, the essential tasks of the brokerage orientation to probation are the management of available community resources and the use of those services to meet the needs of probation clients. There is little emphasis on the quality of the relationship which is developed between the probation officer and the probationer; rather, more emphasis is placed upon the close working relationship between the probation officer and the staff members of community social service agencies. Counseling and guidance are considered inappropriate activities for the probation officer; no attempt is made to change the behavior of the probationer. The primary function of the probation officer is to assess the concrete needs of each probation and made appropriate referrals to existing community services. Should the needed service not be available in the community, it is the responsibility of the probation officer to encourage the development of that service.

This discussion of casework and brokerage -- the major orientations for probation supervision and service provision -- has highlighted the essential tasks of each approach and has emphasized the differences in the approaches. As we mentioned earlier, these approaches represent the most extreme positions on an orientation continuum and should be considered "pure" types. The practices which prevail in most probation departments will undoubtedly exhibit a strong resemblance to one approach but will also incorporate some essential features of the other approach.

The type of approach which is adopted by a probation agency will depend upon may factors, including the prevailing philosophical orientation of judges and probation administrators toward the probation process and the resources available to the agency, and will have implications for departmental management. The most obvious implications will arise in the area of caseload supervision strategy. A department which emphasizes the casework orientation may find that the single officer caseload model is preferable. The brokerage approach is amenable to the team supervision model. The department must also decide, regardless of the approach selected, whether probation officers will specialize in certain types of cases or will be expected to handle heterogeneous caseloads. The arguments in favor of specialization suggest that relatively homogeneous caseloads are easier to deal with for the casework approach as well as the brokerage approach.

The implications of orientation selection also touch on the issue of pre-service education for probation officers. The theories and techniques of casework are generally learned in conjunction with a backgound in social work. If casework is the preferred approach, it will be necessary to require all candidates for probation officer positions to be able to function competently in a casework role, thus limiting the pool of candidates to those with social work backgrounds. If, however, the brokerage approach is used, the administrator might prefer to select probation officers from many disciplines and offer in-service training which is designed to familiarize the officers with community resources.

The administrator will also find that the orientation of his department will affect the use of volunteers and paraprofessionals. Most volunteers and paraprofessionals will probably not bring to their service the ability to perform in a casework role but may be well informed about community services and resources. It may also be easier to handle volunteers and paraprofessionals within a supervision team rather than on a single officer basis.

Although it would be of great value to the probation administrator, research comparing the effectiveness, efficiency, and cost of the casework and brokerage approaches to probation has not yet been done. As a result, we are not now in a position to assess the relative attractiveness of these approaches except in terms of philosophical preference or commitment. Such research which addresses one of the most basic aspects of the probation process would be immensely valuable to decision-makers in probation.

Functional Specialization

Another caseload management technique used by both probation and parole agencies is specialization by function. The type of specialization discussed here occurs at the line operating level within the organization structure of a single probation or parole agency. Unfortunately, little information is available about the extent of use of this management strategy or about the implications for the agency of its use. Gronewald, however, does indicate that, in the federal probation system, nonspecialization is the preferred operating technique in ninety-five percent of the offices.[86] Therefore, this discussion will focus on the arguments for and against functional specialization and will illustrate the considerations important to the administrator in assessing the desirability of using functional specialization as a caseload organization model.

Czajkoski has provided a comprehensive discussion of the use of functional specialization in probation and parole, which will be used as the framework for this presentation.[87] Written from a management point of view, his study focused on " ... functional specialization as it affects the individual probation and parole officer and as it affects the mission fulfillment of a probation and parole organization.[88] His analysis is

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based on two interrelated premises:[89]

1. Specialization, to be most useful, must consciously be made appropriate to function and to the mission from which the function is derived; and

2. Specialization, under certain conditions, profoundly alters a person's concept of his role in an organization and that this alteration, in turn, deeply affects the organization.

Czajkoski identifies a variety of ways in which an agency can specialize, however, of interest here is the technique of specialization by the grouping of tasks and activities which are seen to constitute a relatively discrete function performed in order to accomplish the goals of probation and parole organizations. In order to analyze functional specialization, Czajkoski looks at this type of labor division from the viewpoint of administrative theory and recalls Gulick's reasons for the division of labor:[90]

1. Men differ in nature, capacity, and skill and gain directly in dexterity by specialization.

2. The same man cannot be at two places at the same time.

3. One man cannot do two things at the same time.

4. The range of knowledge and skill is so great that a man cannot within his life span know more than a small fraction of it.

5. In other words, it is a question of human nature, time, and space.

When the functions of probation and parole agencies are divided into areas of specialization, the two areas which appear most frequently are investigation and supervision. Thus, within a specialized department, probation officers will be assigned exclusively either to perform the the investigative function or the supervision function. In addition, in some large agenices, two other specializations -- court liaison and intake -- are found. Czajkoski notes that the intake function, particularly in juvenile courts, may assume major importance in departments in which the intake officers make the decision about which cases will actually be prosecuted in court. The court liaison function, however, rarely achieves the level of importance of the investigative or supervision functions. Thus, for the purpose of the following discussion of the arguments advanced for and against functional specialization, we will present the functions of investigation and supervision as constituting the major functions of a probation or parole agency.

Before discussing the implications of functional specialization, it should be noted that, in an attempt to elicit ideas for his analysis, Czajkoski surveyed a random sample of probation and parole administrators by questionnaire in 1964. His conclusions are based, in part, on the replies he received from sixty-two probation and parole administrators.

Czajkoski notes that, while investigation and supervision are different functions, neither function can be separated from the broader concept of treatment. He sees treatment as a process involving three inter-related stages: investigation, diagnosis, and supervision. Therefore, although investigation and supervision are separate functions, they share in the organic unity of the treatment process.

The results of Czajkoski's survey showed that most of the arguments advanced in favor of functional specialization centered around administrative, rather than treatment concerns. The most frequently cited arguments for specialization by function were:[91]

1. It eliminates neglect of one function (investigation or supervision) in favor of the other.
2. It facilitates supervisory control of performance.
3. It is more efficient.
4. It allows the development of expertise.
5. Some officers, because of training or personality, are not suited to perform both functions.

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Proponents of functional specialization argue that probation officers who are not specialized will, by reason of personal inclination, time pressures, or volume of work to be done, tend to neglect one aspect of their required work in favor of the other. Since most investigative work (such as presentence investigations) is performed under inflexible deadlines, proponents argue that supervision work, which does not frequently require meeting mandatory deadlines, will be neglected. They also argue that specialization is a more comfortable arrangement for many officers who may not be tempermentally suited for the investigative or supervisory functions. Because specialization requires more line supervisors, it is also seen as providing a greater degree of administrative control over the probation officer's performance. Finally, proponents of specialization assert that, because specialization allows officers to develop greater task expertise and because each officer is concerned only with the performance of a relatively discrete function within the service delivery process, this administrative arrangement is more efficient than nonspecialization.

On the other hand, a number of arguments are also advanced against the functional specialization technique.[92] These arguments are:

1. The advantage of simple efficiency would seem to weigh heavily on the side of nonspecialization.
2. An operating knowledge of the techniques of investigation and supervision will enhance expertise.
3. Functionalization may result in unequal workloads and thereby create morale problems.
4. The problem of neglecting one function (most frequently supervision) in favor of the other (investigation) is more closely related to case overload and inadequate number of staff than it is to specialization or nonspecialization of function.

Czajkoski notes that several important points are subsumed under the efficiency argument against specialization. He states that "a key loss occurs in communication between officers specializing in supervision and those specializing in investigation. The problem appears on two levels, one relating to the transfer of information in a specific case and the other to the transfer of policy and professional knowledge."[93] This dual information transfer problem refers both to the investigating officer's inability to communicate all of the potentially important information he has gathered about a specific case to the officer who will be supervising the probationer, and also the difficulty of transferring policy information and professional knowledge (for example, the supervising officer's knowledge about the requirements for successful supervision or the investigating officer's knowledge of judicial and/or parole board policy) in both directions.

With respect to the development of expertise, the opponents of specialization argue that officers who perform both the investigation and supervision functions develop a broad, comprehensive perspective of the entire probation process which outweighs the limited benefits of expertise in some of the technical or procedural aspects of a particular function. Another efficiency consideration is the fact that the demand for investigative or supervision services varies considerably over time, and it might be necessary for an agency administrator to assign more officers to perform either function. If the agency is specialized, however, a significant portion of the staff's flexibility and maneuverability is lost, since staff members cannot easily be switched from one function to the other. Czajkoski points out that "a combined staff is structurally organized and properly experienced to meet the shifting demands of investigation and supervision."[94] A closely related problem is one of equating the workloads which specialized officers are required to carry. Opponents of specialization argue that the actual tasks performed by investigators and supervisors are not equivalent,

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which can create internal morale problems when both types of officers have the same titles, professional status, and salary.

In conclusion, Czajkoski points out that "the character of the officer's professional role would seem to depend on the degree to which functional specialization is carried out. The separation of investigation and supervision tends to emphasize treatment as a process to be isolated from other processes in probation and parole. The morale and efficiency problem then arises of having the concept of treatment integrated at the level of line operation. Careful thought should be given to the desirability of segmenting the functions of probation and parole officers lest their profession be disintegrated and their ability to perform their duties be undermined."[95]

Unfortunately, our knowledge of this area must remain subjective, since no research studies were available which attempted to evaluate the efficiency of the functional specialization technique.

Workload Derivation

The American Bar Association Project on Standards for Probation recommends that average probation caseloads be sufficiently low to provide adequate supervision for all probationers and to develop variable caseloads for different types of offenders and assignment techniques which will maximize supervision.[96] The President's Task Force Report on Corrections found that the administrative problem that has plagued probation officials most has been the achievement of a manageable caseload for probation officers.[97] Whenever probation programs are subject to criticism, the oversized caseload is usually identified as the most critical obstacle to successful operation. Efforts to reduce caseloads have been the source of a continuing struggle between probation administrators and local and state authorities.

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As a remedy, workloads rather than caseloads have been proposed as a means of assigning probationers to officers. The workload concept is based on the idea that not all offenders require the same type or amount of supervision and that different probation functions, such as presentence investigations or supervision, cannot be equated on a one-to-one basis. The workload concept shifts the focus from the raw number of cases to the amount of time needed to meet probationers' needs. The previously-discussed vertical model of caseload assignment is relevant to the workload concept, for it suggests a means of allocating probationers to probation officers "...based upon the view that not all offenders need equal amounts or intensities of supervision."[98] Carter and Wilkins suggested that the high-need, low success potential offenders be grouped into smaller caseloads while the low-need, high success potential offenders be grouped into larger caseloads. Within the workload concept, this structuring of caseloads involves a weighting of certain cases and assignments. Thus, a probation officer assigned offenders difficult to supervise or persons in need of multiple or particular special services would then have an equally weighted, yet smaller numerical caseload than the officer assigned offenders requiring only minimal supervision. In addition, such activities as presentence investigations, which require a large time commitment, would be weighted more heavily than supervision assignments when calculating the workload of an individual officer.

While few departments have operationalized the workload concept, fewer still have subjected it to any form of evaluation. Fortunately, information concerning some of these attempts is available. For example, in 1964 the Los Angeles County Probation Department evaluated a workload project where caseloads had been allocated on the basis of time rather than numerical size. The equally weighted time workloads ranged numerically from 16 to 384. Probationers assigned to the workload officers were found to be more regular in their support payments and reporting activities and tended to be released earlier from probation than those probationers assigned to a non-workload probation officer. The study found "an appreciable potential for cost reduction in the management of adult cases."[99]

In 1976 the State of Florida published the findings of their workload project.[100] Among other topics and objectives discussed, this report recommended that work production should be measured in work hours. In order to arrive at a workload measure, this study scrutinized the current workload measurements and the total hours per month available to the officer. The study found that each staff member had 2,088 annual hours available for work. There are 174 gross hours available per month, including holidays, annual leave, and sick leave. Approximately two and one-half days, or twenty hours per month, should be discounted for holidays, annual and sick leave. This would leave a balance of 154 available hours per month per officer in which to perform the duties required of the job. From this figure, fourteen hours per month, representing the amount of time which had to be reserved for court-controlled activities, were subtracted. Thus, each officer has 140 hours available per month. The following chart specifies the work hours proposed for each task, based on current time assignment:

TABLE 3.8

PROPOSED MONTHLY WORK HOUR MEASURES

Work Unit	Work Hours
Supervision (Felon or Misdemeanant)	
Class I (Maximum)	4.0
Class II (Medium)	2.0
Class III (Minimum)	1.0

Table 3.8 - Continued

Work Unit	Work Hours
Investigation	
Presentence (Felon or Misdemeanant)	12.0
Postsentence	10.0
Preparole	4.5
Mandatory Conditional Release	4.5
Work Release	4.5
Other State	4.0
Release on Recognizance	4.0
Security	2.5
Violation	2.0

This study concluded that each officer should be assigned 140 hours of work units per month, computed according to the above chart.

During 1977, the State of Wisconsin undertook a time and motion study of its probation officers in the Madison Region.[101] The data obtained from the study suggested the following workload standards for the future:

TABLE 3.9

WORKLOAD STANDARDS

Work Units	Work Hours
Maximum Supervision	2.62
Medium Supervision	1.21
Low Supervision	.62
Minimum Supervision	.33

From these figures, it was determined that an average workload would consist of 68.6 work hours per officer and result in a client to agent ratio of approximately 44:1. It was also determined that each officer must complete 12.5 presentence investigations, 2 admission investigations, 10.7 probation socials and 2 partial investigations per year, although no indication was given how these figures were derived. Wisconsin has operationalized these figures and the workload concept on a statewide basis for the 1977-78 fiscal year. At this time, no published information is available as to the progress of the project.

The California Work Unit Parole Program began in 1965 and continued in operation until 1972.[102] The stated program objectives were to increase community protection, improve performance of parolees, and save institutional costs. Three classes of parole supervision were identified in the study as follows:

1. Special supervision for parolees who required more than average Parole Agent time.
2. Regular supervision for parolees requiring moderate time.
3. Conditional supervision for parolees requiring a minimal amount of time.

For those cases deemed in need of close attention, a total of three hours per month per case was allowed for interviewing, case conferences, reporting, and resource development. Regular cases were allotted one and four/fifths hours, and conditional supervision cases were given three/fifths of an hour. A client to officer ratio of 36:1 was established.

The next step was to translate these time allotments to a unit system which would permit each caseload to be governed by a work unit measurement. It was determined that a total of 120 work units would be allotted to each officer. Under this plan, officers received credit for 4.8 units of work for each of their parolees under special supervision, 3 units for each parolee under regular supervision and 1 unit for those under conditional supervision. In practice, each officer carried a mixture of cases, but by utilizing the work unit system the workload was adjusted to keep each

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officer as close as possible to the ideal of 120 work units. Since this program concerned only parole, provision was not made for major probation tasks such as presentence investigations.

The study further noted that if the work unit program proved effective, it was anticipated that it would be expanded to include the entire parole population. This expansion did not materialize, and the problems involved in maintaining two parallel parole systems prompted the development of a single system of parole supervision for all adult felon parolees.

The Oregon Workload Measurement Study prepared as a Report to the Legislature was conducted in 1972 in three of the five Regions of the Oregon Corrections Division.[103] The objectives, as stated in the study, were to develop and implement a case management system and to develop an improved system for budgeting probation and parole officers. In the first phase of the study, probation and parole officer activities in the Medford, Eugene, and Portland Regions were identified, observed, and timed over a three-month period. Activities were clustered into four major functional areas by percentage of total time expended as follows:

Administrative Activities	52%
Supervisory, Counseling, or Enforcing Activities	26%
Investigation/Reporting Activities	19%
Revocation and Hearing Activities	3%

In order to further refine these data, a modified Sidney Fine method of task analysis was utilized by the study team in an attempt to write behavioral core tasks that would cover ninety percent of all worker functions and job time. The study reports that while it was successful in this accomplishment, it found great differences in both tasks and time requirements among the three Regions. This was due to the fact that there exists no systematic or standardized means of case differentiation or classification which matches client needs to available resources or treatment philosophy. The report does suggest the development of a manpower need formula for correcting the staffing patterns based on current workload and study findings. This manpower need formula can be based on current workloads and study findings in the following way:

1. Identify the function performance pattern (i.e., functions typically performed monthly by average workers).
2. Sum total the time consumption of the average worker's typical pattern.
3. Convert to hours consumed by pattern per month.
4. Multiply monthly required hours by the study population case (supervisory unit) to determine total monthly hours required by the supervisory unit.
5. Divide by 168 hours (which is the total hours available to one worker per month) to determine the number of required positions.

Based on this manpower formula, and in order to implement the recommended case management system, the projected staff needs were determined for each of the three Regions studied. This information was then translated into caseload ratios as follows:

Medford Region -	projected caseload ratio	48.9 to 1
	1972 actual caseload ratio	77.6 to 1
Eugene Region -	projected caseload ratio	41.7 to 1
	1972 actual caseload ratio	62.2 to 1
Portland Region -	projected caseload ratio	71.8 to 1
	1972 actual caseload ratio	81.0 to 1

The California Youth Authority undertook a workload project based in the Bakersfield parole unit during a one year period starting in October of 1970.[104] Based on a time study that was conducted in 1969, a preliminary workload standard was established which defined thirty minutes of time for each service activity as one work unit. On the basis of an average 151 working hours per month, a total of 302 work units per month per caseload was determined to be acceptable. Initially the project used three major service categories (Caseload Services, Administrative Case Management, and Non-Case Related Activities) for estimating the time required to provide these services to assigned cases. Later, using data obtained from the second and third time study periods, an attempt was made to identify individual case characteristics that would predict time requirements for case weighting. The case characteristics examined included:

1. the client's placement status (the primary determinant)
2. the client's planned program (school, work or miscellaneous program)
3. the number of times the client had been on parole
4. the client's age at release to parole
5. the number of months the client had been on parole
6. the court of commitment (juvenile, municipal, or superior)
7. the client's sex
8. the client's ethnic composition

A statistical technique was used to determine the individual and cumulative contributions of these case characteristics to predict the amount of total caseload service time expended per client per month. It was reasoned that those case characteristics showing the most predictive power should be used for case weighting. The data revealed that none of the eight case characteristics examined, or combinations thereof, were highly predictive of the amount of time that would be expended for a client during a month. Further analysis of the data obtained from testing this model resulted in a revision of the preliminary workload standards, by category of service, to provide:

1. Caseload Services -- 2.7 work units per case, per month
2. Administrative Case Management -- 2.1 work units per case, per month

3. Non-Case Related Activities — 4.2 work units per case, per month

4. Total Caseload -- 9.0 work units per case, per month

Two generalizations were made from the findings of the Model Parole Workload System. First, with several modifications, the workload system can be used as a means for matching the service time needs of groups of clients with parole agent time available. Second, the findings of the Bakersfield project indicate that to convert regular parole operations to the workload system on a statewide basis, the Department would need a client to agent ratio of not more than 33.6 to 1. A somewhat lower ratio may actually be needed as a result of program innovation and refinements introduced within the Increased Parole Effectiveness Program.

Despite the findings and recommendations of these studies, the workload concept has failed to surface as a widely used model of operation. In 1974, Wint Hughes of the Wisconsin Division of Corrections prepared a review of the studies that have been undertaken in, among other areas, the area of workloads. He concluded: "We found no example of operationalized Probation and Parole 'workload systems' that have been implemented from time studies, experimental projects, or as a result of research findings ... We found no examples of Time Studies or Experimental models that have resulted in operationalized workload systems."[105] The 1967 President's Commission Task Force Report on Corrections stated: "Time, as a work measure, has not been used extensively. Many original studies which utilized this measure were designed more to show the expenditure of time among several activities rather than to predict manpower requirements or workload levels."[106]

Adoption of the workload concept may be suffering in part because of the lack of a technology that can accurately identify and differentiate high-success potential, low-need clients from low-success potential, high need clients. It may be due to the lack of generalizable or at least acceptable figures concerning relative and absolute assignments of weights to various activities and responsibilities and a proper total workload work rate. Thirdly, departments may be hesitant in adopting the concept due to fear of the unknown. Indeed, little is known empirically of the impact of a workload perspective upon the clients, the probation officer, the department, or upon the criminal justice system in general. It seems that until more research is undertaken to expand the technology of risk prediction and needs assessment, and to clarify the impacts of the concept in operation and distribute acceptable and generalizable information concerning activity weights and total responsibility, de facto resistance to a workload movement will be observed.

Summary

At the beginning of this chapter, we noted that the complexity of the tasks required of probation agencies raised a number of critical issues which must be faced by probation administrators. Having discussed the relevant caseload assignment and supervision issues, we can now link the available information with the management questions which were identified earlier in an effort to aid the administrator who is attempting to select techniques and strategies which would be appropriate in addressing the problems encountered by his agency.

- What are the different ways in which probationers can be assigned to individual officers' caseloads?

As we have seen, there are at least four broad caseload assignment models. First is the conventional model, under which probationers are randomly assigned to individual caseloads. The characteristics of the probationers are not taken into consideration; thus, caseloads are heterogeneous and each individual caseload is a miniature reproduction of the total probationer population. Second is the conventional model with geographic considerations. Under this model, each caseload is restricted to residents of a certain type of geographic area, but again the probationers remain otherwise undifferentiated. Next is the single-factor specialized caseload. This model separates probationers on the basis of a single characteristic, for example, age, type of offense, or potential for violent behavior. Finally, the vertical, multi-factor classification model is based on the differentiation of probationers by more than one characteristic. This model frequently uses one of the prediction instruments which attempt to estimate the chances that a particular probationer will succeed or fail on probation. The "numbers game" can be applied to any of these assignment models. The object of the numbers game is to numerically balance all of the caseloads in the department either by dividing the number of probationers by the number of probation officers or by arbitrarily selecting an "ideal" caseload size which represents the maximum number of probationers in any single caseload.

We have pointed out a number of potential management implications for each of these assignment techniques. These implications, and the constraints imposed by the selection of caseload supervision strategies must be kept in mind when considering a change or modification in assignment technique.

- Can the level and intensity of supervision be differentiated for various classes of probationers?

In the past twenty years, we have seen a great deal of interest in the relative effectiveness of different caseload sizes. Most studies in this area have experimented with intensive supervision. The major assumption underlying the use of intensive supervision is that increased contact between the officer and the probationer will result in increased understanding by the officer of the probationer and his problems, the development of better skills in matching services to client needs, better diagnostic assessments, and improved treatment judgments. The justification for the use of intensive supervision, then, is the following assumed causal linkage: decreased caseload size results in increased contact between the probation officer and the probationer, which leads to improved service delivery and more effective treatment, finally resulting in a reduction in recidivism rates. Studies determined that, while data are kept which indicate the number of contacts between the probation officer and the probationer, there is no information to suggest that the quality of contacts has changed. Intensive supervision caseloads appear generally to consist of twenty-five "high risk" probationers.

Other studies experimented with minimum supervision, which is also referred to as "crisis supervision." Minimum supervision requires no routine or normal contact with the probationer beyond a written report submitted monthly by the probationer. Again, data were available on the number of contacts but not on the quality of contacts.

The issue of the relative effectivenesss of various levels of supervision with respect to outcome measures had been covered in the Technical Issue Paper on Clients and Caseloads. With respect to management issues, it is clear that research which assesses the quality of contacts generated by varying supervision levels is necessary.

- Should all probation officers be expected to handle every kind of probationer problem, or should individual probation officers develop areas of specialization?

We have seen that a number of probation departments have distinguished between generalized and specialized caseloads. Under the generalized model, individual probation officers handle a complete cross-section of probationers regardless of the type or extent of problems which they have, and the

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officers are expected to provide a full range of services, offered either by the officers themselves or by other community agencies. In contrast, under the specialized model, probation officers handle one specific type of offender or offender problem. Categories frequently used for specialization include drug addicts, alcohol abusers, the mentally retarded, sex offenders, and offenders with a high potential for violent behavior. The arguments generally advanced in support of specialization include the development of increased expertise and skills in handling special groups of offenders and increased efficiency in the utilization of available manpower resources.

We have examined several operational specialization programs in terms of their purposes, oganization, and advantages and disadvantages. The relative effectiveness of specialized officers and caseloads with respect to outcome measures has been covered in the Technical Issue Paper on Treatment Modalities. In terms of management issues, we have seen that agencies will have to balance administrative decisions on existing funding, availability of community resources, the make-up of their target population, the level of expertise within the agency, and the constraints raised by manpower resources.

- What advantages might there be for organizing the probation officer force into teams rather than utilizing the traditional single officer caseload model?

There have been some problems associated with the traditional practice of using single officer caseloads. These problems include caseload size, caseload heterogeneity, and accountability for the performance of the probationers in the caseload. The team model of probation supervision and service provision has been suggested as an answer to these problems. There are a number of arguments advanced in favor of organizing the probation officer force into teams. First, teams make it possible to offer the probation client a broader range of expertise and skills than would be available from a single officer. Second, the probation team can better handle increasingly larger caseloads, with all members of the team familiar with all of the team's cases. Third, the individual members of the team can specialize by function or by areas of expertise and interest. Finally, accountability for the performance of the caseload is placed on the team as a whole, rather than on any one individual officer. As discussed, there are a number of models for implementing team supervision, and a number of variations on these models.

We found one true experimental research project which assessed the relative effectiveness and cost of traditional supervision, team supervision, and supervision by volunteers. With respect to team supervision, the study concluded that team supervision, while not quite as effective as supervision by volunteers, was significantly more effective than traditional supervision and, in addition, was less costly than traditional supervision. A number of teams which specialize in the management of community resources have been organized under the brokerage/advocacy approach to probation. While descriptive reports of these teams attest to their "success," they have not yet been evaluated in terms of their effectiveness, efficiency, or cost.

- Should the agency adopt a casework approach to probation supervision, or would a brokerage approach be more appropriate?

Our review of the available research revealed no studies which attempted to evaluate the relative effectiveness, efficiency, or cost of the casework approach and the brokerage approach to probation supervision and service provision. As a result, we were able only to offer a discussion of the essential elements of the two approaches.

The primary task of the casework approach is to change the behavior of the individual probationer. This change is accomplished through an individualized treatment process which is grounded on a positive, supportive, one-to-one relationship between the probation officer and the probationer. The probation officer develops a treatment plan through study and diagnosis of the individual probationer, his behavior, and his living situation. Individualized counseling and guidance of the probationer are emphasized.

In contrast, under the brokerage approach, the probation officer is not primarily concerned with understanding and changing the behavior of the probationer, but rather with assessing the concrete needs of the individual and arranging for the probationer to receive services which directly address those needs. Since the probation officer is not seen as the primary agent of treatment or change, there is much less emphasis on the development of a close relationship between the probation officer and the probationer The probation officer functions as a manager or broker of resources and services already available in the community. Under the brokerage approach, then, the probation officer's relationship with community service agencies is seen as being more important than his relationship with an individual probationer. The advocacy role, which is closely related to brokerage, requires the probation officer to actively lobby for the development of needed services which are not available in other service agencies.

The approaches of casework and brokerage were presented as mutually exclusive for the purposes of discussion. In reality, of course, although most probation departments' practices will tend to resemble one approach, they will also exhibit some important features of the other.

- Should all probation officers be expected to perform both the investigation and supervision duties, or should officers be required to specialize?

We could locate no research which attempted to evaluate the relative effectiveness or efficiency of functional generalization or specialization. We did, however, discuss the arguments advanced in favor of or against specialization by function. Generally speaking, functional specialization refers to the practice of dividing probation tasks into investigation and supervision. Most of the arguments in favor of functional specialization cluster around administrative, rather than treatment, concerns. The most frequently-cited arguments are: it eliminates neglect of one function in favor of the other; it facilitates supervisory control of performance; it is more efficient; it allows the development of expertise; and some officers, because of training or personality, are not suited to perform both functions. In contrast, the arguments in favor of non-specialization are: it is more efficient; an operating knowledge of the techniques of both investigation and supervision will enhance expertise; it will not result in unequal workloads and consequent morale problems; and it preserves the organic unity of the treatment process which encompasses both investigation and supervision.

These arguments for and against functional specialization represent the personal opinions and experiences of a number of probation and parole administrators. They have not, however, been examined under rigorous research conditions. Definite conclusions about the relative effectiveness and efficiency of these two positions cannot be drawn until such research has been attempted.

- How can the agency efficiently handle the volume of probationers assigned by the Court?

One administrative problem which has plagued probation officials for a long time has been the achievement of manageable workloads for probation officers. The workload concept has been developed to replace the concentration on caseload size because it has been recognized that not all probationers in the agency's caseload require the same type or amount of supervision and that different probation functions, such as presentence investigations and supervision, cannot be equated on a one-to-one basis. In computing workloads, one presentence investigation would be weighted more heavily than one supervision case, and probationers requiring maximum supervision or special services would be weighted more heavily than probationers requiring minimum supervision or no special services.

We have examined several methods which have been used in order to convert the time necessary to complete a given probation task into a workload measurement. By using these workload measurements, it should be possible for the administrator to arrive at a manageable combination of tasks to be assigned to an individual probation officer and to ensure that all officers in the department are asked to handle comparable amounts of work. There is little evidence to suggest, however, that the time studies and experimental projects which have been undertaken to provide such measurements have actually resulted in operational workloads.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER III

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CHAPTER IV

THE PROVISION OF PROBATION SERVICES

This section addresses the issue of resources available to probation, of what these resources consist, and how they are employed. The focus will be on several components of the issue, and will include: the responsibilities of probation, the services of probation, the strategies for delivering these services, some examples of operational service delivery systems, and the conclusions drawn from these various techniques.

Responsibilities of Probation

Although there is some overlap, the four primary responsibilities of probation agencies are: surveillance, investigation, concrete needs counseling, and emotional needs counseling. Whether a probation office elects to undertake each responsibility is a question which will be addressed later, but for now we will assume that these are the four basic duties of a probation service.

Surveillance: While the term "surveillance" usually means simply "watching" in a police sense it should be pointed out that a helping purpose is also intended. Surveillance is not intended to serve the single purpose of catching a client in the act of committing a crime or violating technical rules. Rather, it is a form of continuous support to a client who is trying to re-establish himself in a threatening environment in which his past behavior has resulted in personal disaster. When surveillance is properly carried out, the client is continually sensitized to the possible results of a course of action that has made him vulnerable in the past. Just as an alcoholic or narcotic addict who is trying to change his life derives support from frequent contact with others who have successfully conquered their problems, so also can many clients derive beneficial results from frequent meetings with the probation officer.

Investigation: The investigation function includes reporting violative behavior, or actual violation on the part of probationers, and gathering facts about arrests and reporting suspicions to supervisors. The question of who should investigate what, to what degree, and when external authorites should be called in to participate, should be determined by policy and procedures of probation offices.

Concrete Needs Counseling: The absence of concrete needs counseling is suggested as being a contributing factor to high recidivism rates. This type of counseling includes the following areas: employment, education, training, housing, clothing, financial, medical, dental, legal, and transportation. How different probation officers deal with this responsibility will be addressed later.

Emotional Needs Counseling: Most probation officers are not trained psychologists or psychiatrists and should not attempt to provide this treatment without the aid of qualified professionals. However, in most cases what is needed is simply human warmth and understanding, and this can be provided by the probation officer. This area can also include drugs and alcohol counseling where needed.[1]

The services that a probation office provides depend on the needs of clientele they serve. These needs can include:

1. Academic/Vocational Needs
2. Employment

3. Financial Management
4. Marital/Family Relationships
5. Companions
6. Emotional Stability
7. Alcohol Usage
8. Drug Usage
9. Mental Ability
10. Health
11. Sexual Behavior

It is quite obvious that one probation agency would have a difficult time attempting to provide all the services needed by their clients. In fact, it would be both unrealistic and inefficient for a probation office to provide for all the needs of their clients, especially since there are many community resources available to the probation office. Local communities usually have many programs that can be utilized by the probation offices. They include: alcohol programs, drug programs, educational programs, psychiatric treatment, employment agencies, community volunteers, counseling (family, group, marital, etc.), health care, clinics and many more such services.

Service Provision Strategies

There are two primary strategies by which probation agencies may deploy their staffs to provide the services necessary for their clients. These strategies are casework and community resource management teams. While most probation offices use a combination of these, we shall attempt to paint a clearer picture by describing each, then giving some practical examples of the means by which some probation offices provide services.

Casework

Meeker has given the following description of the casework approach;

The general profession of social work is concerned with strengthening the individual on the one hand and society on the other. Casework is just one of the techniques of the social worker, but it is in the process of casework that the social worker deals directly with the individual. This is the distinctive characteristic of casework--this direct working, individual by individual, with those maladjusted persons who are in conflict with society or who find themselves either inadequate or unable to meet their social, economic, or emotional needs in the competitive struggle that characterizes life. The modern emphasis in social casework is upon discovering the positive potential within the individual and helping him exploit his own capabilities, while at the same time revealing external resources in his social and economic environment which will contribute to his ability to assume the mature, responsible obligations of a well-adjusted individual. It is therefore apparent that the basic element in casework is the relationship between caseworker and the individual in trouble. This is also the basic element in probation.

Probation is not just punishment. It is not clemency. It is not an act of mercy. It is not a pardon. Above all, it is not just another chance. It is rather a process of treatment aimed at effecting a readjustment within the community setting, of the attitudes, habits, and capabilities of the offender. If this is the goal of probation, then casework is a viable method for achieving this goal, since the sole aim and purpose of casework is to strengthen the individual's ability "to regulate his own life" in society.

In working with the adult or child on probation, the probation officer continues to consider his probationer in the latter's total situation. He knows that he cannot work with the child without working with the child's parents. He may find it necessary to be directive in his treatment particularly in the early stages of supervision. If Johnny's stealing has been diagnosed as stemming partly from Johnny's feeling of rejection by his mother, the probation officer may need to restrict Johnny's activities as a practical expedient while the mother is helped to understand her son's need for affection and understanding. At the same time, of course, mutual bonds of understanding and respect are being constructed between the probation officer and Johnny, but until Johnny reaches a point at which he begins to understand himself and to desire to overcome his stealing, certain artificial restraints may be highly necessary. Johnny's understanding of himself and his mother, and her understanding of herself and Johnny will come about only as the probation officer has time to devote to these troubled two. Casework is the term applied to this process of releasing the tensions, frustrations, and aggressions in this situation.

> But the firm, steady guidance given Johnny during this period is also casework.
>
> Casework also may render a concrete service such as introducing Johnny to the "Y". It may be manipulating the environment by placing Johnny in a temporary foster home, but modern casework never loses sight of the fact that mere rendering of a service or manipulating of environment seldom will solve the problems of a disturbed individual. Such action must be accompanied by genuinely constructive opportunities for the child to gain real satisfactions, and these opportunities may come slowly and only as the child, his foster parents, and his parents together with the probation officer work through a plan mutually understood and jointly determined. Such an undertaking may involve the use of many community resources, but the total process is nevertheless a casework process.
>
> The assertion is sometimes made that the methods of casework cannot be applied in the authoritative setting of probation. Experience has shown otherwise. Authority per se does not preclude casework. All casework is authorized. The authority of the child welfare worker may differ from that of a probation officer in degree but hardly in kind. The clients of both are seldom so from choice. Yet casework is basic in the treatment of problem children. So is it in the treatment of problem adults--those willful, aggressive, disturbed, irresponsible, and almost always immature members of society who find themselves in conflict with its laws. To use authority wisely is of course essential, and helping the probationer accept the realities of his special status on probation is a casework problem.[2]

Casework is a way of working with individuals. It is a method of doing the correctional job which is consciously planned to help the individual client become better adjusted to the demands of social living. The aspects of the probation officer's activities which make his work "casework" are twofold: that he is dealing with the client as an individual; and that he is consciously controlling what he does so that his activity contributes within reality limits to the welfare of the client. Casework is not characterized either by a particular kind of activity on the part of the probation officer or a particular situation of the probationer. Interviewing is only a part of casework. The worker may be taking the client to jail as a parole violator to cool off while he figures out what has to be done next. He may be taking a child to detention, writing a court report, investigating an offense, or working with a child's teacher. Each such activity is a part of casework as an individual whose welfare he is endeavoring to secure within the framework of the social limitations to which both he and the client must adjust.[3]

Thus casework in probation follows the traditional "medical model," and remains intact in most probation offices. In reality, however, the probation officer does not have the time or energy to devote to individual cases. Large caseloads, staff shortages, and endless report writing leave the probation officer unable to perform all the tasks called for by casework. There has also been a trend away from the "medical model", and in probation it has taken the form of community resource management teams and the brokerage approach.

Brokerage

Influenced by the medical model of corrections, the traditional rehabilitative device used in probation services has been the individual one-to-one casework approach in which the probation officer has functioned as the sole treatment agent or therapist. There are several treatment assumptions implicit in the use of the casework approach. One assumption has been that the quality of the relationship established between the probation officer and the client should be an important objective in itself. Another assumption is that a single probation officer is capable of handling the multi-faceted needs of a large number of offenders. A third assumption has been that the kinds of services needed by correctional clients are available in the community and can be delivered to the client. Finally, it has been assumed that it is possible for the caseworker to be "all things" to all the clients on the caseload.

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Miscione, among others, asserts that practical experience refutes these traditionally held assumptions.[4]

In contrast to the medical model, the reintegration model emphasizes the needs of correctional clients for specialized services which can best be provided by established community agencies. As a rehabilitative device, brokerage replaces the casework approach. The brokerage task requires the assessment of client needs and the linkage of available community services with those needs. Even in the broker role, however, the probation officer cannot be all things to all clients. Because of the wide diversity of client needs and the range of services available in the community, each probation officer may become a specialist in one or more areas of concentration (e.g., employment, education, drug and alcohol abuse services; etc.) and develop contact with the appropriate community agencies. In order to meet all the needs of the client which may cover more than one category of service, a group of specialist probation officers may organize themselves into a team which, because of the specialized expertise and contacts of the individual team members, has developed links with all types of services provided by established community agencies. In addition to the broker role, the team may also function in an advocacy role, determining which necessary services are not yet available in the community and assisting in their development. Thus Rubin suggests that "(T)he officer's job is to connect probationers with particular community agencies which offer the needed services and to make sure the services are delivered."[5]

Community Resource Management Teams

In order to implement the type of service delivery arrangement which would be capable of functioning as described above, the National Institute of Corrections, in 1973, funded a training institute conducted by the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education (WICHE) to develop Community Resource Management Teams in selected probation and parole departments. The Community Resource Management Team (CRMT) Project was based on three premises:

1. The community, not just the correctional agency, is the site and source of needed services.
2. The corrections task is not individual service but linkage of available community services to the needs of the offender.
3. A team effort will be more effective than individual advocacy/brokerage efforts.[6]

In line with these assumptions, the role of the CRMT will be to:

1. Analyze the agency caseload rather than the individual to determine need for services from the community.
2. Effect changes in the community to ensure delivery of needed services.
3. Develop community-based services where lacking.[7]

Teams from ten probation and parole departments participated in the training sessions which were held in 1975.[8] A Texas probation department which developed a Community Resource Management Team summarized the functions of the team:

> In servicing an offender, the CRMT Probation Officer will assess the needs, identify the services available, contact the appropriate resource and work in a coordinated team effort to assist the probationer in obtaining these services and finally will provide a follow-up on the programming. In those areas where needed services fail to exist, staff will be responsible for mobilizing the needed resources and services. The underlying rationale is that by pooling the resources of CRMT and the community a large number of probationers and the diversity of their needs will be serviced in a more effective manner.[9]

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There are a variety of ways in which a CRMT can be organized within a probation department. Dell'Apa et al., describe four operational models to be used as points of departure for adaptation to various organizational settings:[10]

> Model A: The Basic Agency Team - A Team is composed of a middle manager, no fewer than two line (field) staff, a clerical staff person, and a staff specialist.
>
> > Function: The combined caseload of these field staff is assigned to this team. The team has responsibility to serve all needs of the caseload. Decisions are made at team meetings and the middle manager leads the team. Tasks are determined through team consensus. The team has responsibility for a specific geographic area.
> >
> > Note: The agency can assemble as many of these teams as it desires, depending upon the manpower. The teams are components of the parent agency.
>
> Model B: The Agency-Community Extended Team - A Team is composed of a middle manager, no fewer than two line (field) staff, a trainee, one or more ex-offenders, a clerical staff person, with support from interested community social service agents from legal aid, welfare, employment security, mental health, minority group organizations, health, and education agencies. In addition, community persons such as successful ex-offenders and citizens' group leaders serve as resources to the team.
>
> > Function: The caseload is composed of a fixed number of clients, usually a cross section of the target population, who have distinct needs for supervision and assistance. They may come largely from one geographical area, be designated as drug- and alcohol-related offenders, represent distinct minority groups, and fall within definite age groupings. The team is analyzed to determine the skills of each member, and the workload is the determinant of who does what. The parent agency staff serve as brokers of the services and coordinators among the attached support specialists. The team meets regularly to assess community resources and needs, as well as workload needs upon which the division of labor is based. The clients may be served by all members of the team or only one or any combination.
> >
> > Note: This team model is dependent on actual cooperation between parent staff and those from support community agencies.
>
> Model C: The Specialist Resource Team - A team is composed of two or more line (field) staff who are supervised by a middle manager. Support community staff may be used where possible.

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Function; The team has a specialized caseload; all of these clients who are distinguishable by one central concern, perhaps drug addiction, violence-prone behavior, chronic unemployment, or serious family crises. The team works only with these persons. The team also marshalls all resources within the community that provide services to such clients.

Note: This team maintains autonomy but relies on good community relations.

Model D: The Total Department as a Community Resource Management Team - The Team may encompass the entire field agency. A task analysis is made of the agency workload. Specific assignments are made to individual staff members depending upon their capabilities. Attached community agency staff are recruited to serve as support personnel to the entire parent agency, rather than to a specific team within the agency.

Function: The agency sets the team into operation after a careful task analysis based on the workload needs of the agency. Some staff will function as court and liaison specialists, others will prepare presentence or preparole reports, and others will supervise those who require supervision by court order or in the judgment of the agency. In some instances, a single staff person may have the assignment for a specific need area such as employment, legal aid services, health, or education. A team will have no caseload but will serve as community resource identifiers and develop advocacy plans to link these resources to all clients.

Note: This complex organizational model requires careful task analysis and staff skills assessment as well as effective collaboration with significant community agencies. It is a total organizational approach. Its success will depend upon continuous revision of the structure and deployment of staff resources.

Implementing a CRMT

In designing its training course to teach probation and parole departments how to operate under CRMT concepts, WICHE recognized that, because CRMT was an innovative program, it might be met with some resistance. Dell'Apa et al. foresaw several issues which needed attention: "Issues having to do with traditional organization and structure were of utmost concern in contemplating program change. The concept of team development and participative management is novel in public service and was considered an issue to be dealt with; the universal phenomenon that man naturally resists change was a predictable problem to overcome; the concept of social agency collaboration and the notion of the probation or parole agent acting as a broker of services was a complete reversal of traditional roles; the idea of a probation or parole officer assuming change agent responsibility in the area of community development was considered a major issue regarding job enlargement . . ."[11]

These issues were addressed as follows:[12]

1. Organization Structure and Function of the Agency - Most probation and parole agencies in the United States have a hierarchical organization with autocratic management styles that typically emerge from such organizations. Teams, if present at all, are given little autonomy. Caution and protection of the agency are often the order of the day. Decision-makers in such agencies are naturally wary of a team approach, thinking that this is only a preliminary action to the manager's loss of control. In hierarchical organizations it is vital that the top decision-maker be a part of the team. The absence of personnel from this level reduces team strength, particularly when an attempt is made to introduce CRMT in agencies that are resistive, if not hostile to this new approach.

2. Procedures Within the Organization - The determination of organizational procedures in the fully developed CRMT rests with the team itself. CRMT is based on participatory management, and participatory management requires that those who carry out the organizational mission should share in formulating the design of the mission. Ultimately, this means that decisions are made at the level of expertise rather than at the highest level of organizational authority.

   Such a vital shift in power does not happen without creating stress in the organization. The giving up as well as the assumption of power is uncomfortable. Managers who have previously given orders must now consult. Workers who have taken orders must now make decisions and live with those decisions. When equilibrium is re-established in the agency, it will look and behave very differently from what it did before the incorporation of these participative approaches.

3. Staff Resistance and Organization Support - Staff members often believe that what they do in an organization is significant in and of itself on behalf of the client as well as the organization. Thus, when a new way of operation is proposed, questions are asked such as "We are operating well under our present system, why change?" This resistance is often based on the honest feeling that the organization is doing well since individual staff members believe they are doing well. Unfortunately, the sentiment has no basis in fact.

Another not uncommon reaction is, "If we change, what will happen to me?" or "Who will do [ ] if we change?" These questions usually reflect fear of change.

To soften this resistance, the staff may need to consider the open-ended question, "If we were to start from scratch in our organization, how could we assign tasks to best serve our clientele?" This question tends to surface discontents that exist with existing organizational patterns and leads to staff-initiated change. Imposed changes or outside suggestions only solidify resistance to the unknown.

4. The Relationship Between the Correctional Agency and the Community Social Service Agencies - Not uncommonly where the caseload is the model for practice, each worker brokers for the individuals in the caseload on an agency-to-agency basis. The result of this is that every staff member potentially must deal with every social service agency in the community. A concept inherent in CRMT is that one staff person can become the liaison to an agency or set of agencies that are providing common or related services. For example, one staff member could become the conduit for dealing with alcohol problems, while another staff person would broker employment services. The argument for this, besides the labor-saving features, is simply that a more coherent picture of supply and demand for services can be developed if there is a systematic process of referral and follow-up. The potential for strengthened relationships between the correctional agency and other social agencies is also present through such an arrangement.

5. The Relationship Between the Worker and the Clients - Whether the worker's self-image is that of a control agent, advocate, or counselor, the CRMT will have to assume an additional role - that of manager of community services. This managerial role is one that requires workers to view themselves as community developers who are capable of relationships not only with clients, but with other targets of change as well, namely, the principal social service institutions that exist in the community. This new view transforms the way workers assess their clients. The client is now a person whose future depends not only on how well he adjusts and adapts to the environment, but additionally, on how well he is linked to social institutions. The CRMT worker views his responsibility to change the community as being at least as important as changing the client. In so doing, a new balance is struck between the traditional role of counseling and controlling the client and community development.

As described above, one of the suggested operational models for a CRMT is the Agency-Community Extended Team model. This approach binds together agency staff personnel and a variety of community social service agencies into an interagency consortium and, as noted, depends heavily on actual cooperation between the agency and the community agencies. One Texas probation department has formalized this linkage into a cooperative agreement signed by all participating agencies. This written agreement produces a ". . . close knit community team approach, including the use of a standardized referral process and regularly scheduled team meetings. In addition, to assure linkage of needed and available services, the team also acts in an advocacy capacity assisting in the development of needed services not yet available in the community."[13]

Acquisition of Services

Up to this point we have discussed the two major strategies for delivery services. It is important at this time to discuss a new important means for acquiring and providing these services.

Contracting

Since there is considerable looseness in the use of the term "contract," the first portion of this discussion delineates a definition of the term. A "contract" is defined as a mutually beneficial, legally binding agreement between a source of funds and a source of treatment or services. The agreement specifies these mutual obligations regarding such matters as services to be provided, compensation, and procedures of referral and intake of clients. This definition, therefore, excludes consideration of grants from United Way, gifts from private foundations, service agreements not involving compensation, and entitlements (e.g., social security, food stamps, medicaid, welfare, etc.). We are most interested in those arrangements in which a public agency exchanges funds for some influence in defining the target population and activities of a community-based program. We shall refer to these arrangements as "contracts."[14]

Public funding sources may be partitioned into three categories; *criminal justice* sources, *substance abuse* sources, and a residual category, *dispersed* governmental sources. These sources differ in the degree to which they are involved with the criminal justice system.

The first, criminal justice sources define their target population exclusively as persons diverted from or sentenced to a criminal justice or corrections agency. Criminal justice funding sources include the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA), various agencies of custody and jurisdiction, and, in some instances, direct government appropriations.

As the name of the category might suggest, substance abuse funding sources support drug and alcohol treatment programs or pay for other services to clients with alcohol or drug problems. Drug and alcohol programs usually have a mixed clientele in the sense that only a portion is currently involved with the criminal justice system. Many clients in drug and alcohol programs enter them under no direct pressure from criminal justice agencies. Of those that are referred or pressured by criminal justice agencies, some have violated criminal laws directly related to substance abuse (e.g., sale, possession, or use of drugs, public inebriation, or drunk driving). Others have violated more general criminal laws but are perceived by legal officials to have substance abuse as an underlying problem, for example, burglars who are supporting a heroin habit. The more important substance abuse funding agencies are the National Institute of Drug Abuse (NIDA) and the National Institute of Alcoholism and Alcohol Abuse (NIAAA).

Dispersed funding sources also have broad based target populations which may include a portion of criminal justice related clients. Among the major funding sources is the Department of Labor (DOL) Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) which supports general employment programs and programs specifically for parolees (e.g., the "Model Ex-Offender Program"). Another important source of support for community based services for offenders in the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH).

There are two types of funding contracts, block grants and fee-for-service arrangements. Block grants provide general support for programs irrespective of variation in number of clients served or number of service units delivered. Fee-for-service contracts involve an arrangement in which payment is directly tied to the number of service units delivered (e.g., days of treatment, counseling sessions, hours of service delivery.)[15]

A major problem encountered in agencies contracting for human services is determining whether the services were ever delivered. This problem is especially acute in non-residential programs. The characteristics of the population that receives human services make follow-up of clients by the agency extremely difficult. Clients are often transient and not oriented to assisting public agencies to determing whether they got their money's worth.[16]

Criminal justice agencies encounter special problems of accountability and control. Being strongly oriented to the client's offender status, criminal justice agencies generally prefer a high level of surveillance and control over their referrals. These special considerations may include urine testing for narcotics, curfew observance, and above all, immediate report if the client leaves the program or is AWOL. But some privately operated programs are staffed by people who are at best indifferent to these concerns and even opposed to the social control priorities of criminal justice agencies. Many programs, especially in alcoholism treatment, reported that they only accept "voluntary" admissions and discourage criminal justice agencies from coercing clients to enter their programs. Our general impression is that criminal justice agencies exercise little control over those programs which do not have contracts or which contract with a non-criminal justice agency. If a criminal justice agency desires serious attention to its concerns, it must contract with the private programs directly.

The larger the proportion of the programs's budget it contributes the more attention its priorities will receive.[17]

Operational Examples of Service Provision Strategies

The strategies used by probation offices to deliver the services necessary for their probationers are as varied as the probationers themselves. The following is a short summary of some of the strategies which various probation offices around the country use to deliver services.

The Rochester-Monroe County Criminal Justice Pilot City Program (PEG) conducted in Rochester, N.Y. involved a multidisciplinary panel approach to the problems of unemployed and underemployed probationers, age eighteen and over.[18] A pool of volunteer community experts in such fields as personnel, manpower training, and industrial relations participated in weekly Employment Guidance Councils to advise referred probationers about their employment problems and possibilities, as well as training and educational options. Supportive services, including screening and intensive follow-through assistance, were provided by a program coordinator (a senior probation officer) and a personnel specialist.

Referrals to the program, called PEG, came from probation officers responsible for supervision of offenders. The probation officers briefly explained the program to the individual and, if the individual agreed to participate, an appointment was arranged with the PEG coordinator. For those clients not ready for a job search, the Coordinator in every case made referrals to existing community resources. Among the resources employed were:

1. Manpower Skills Center, which provides clerical, auto mechanics, welding, machine operator, and nurses aide/orderly training;
2. Concentrated Employment Program, with services such as a two-week work orientation program, job training, aptitude testing (where applicable for training programs), counseling, placement, and physical examination;
3. Threshold, with drug counseling, medical attention, and a learning center for youth;
4. Literacy Volunteers, a tutoring resource;
5. Monroe County Mental Court Clinic, for psychiatric observation, treatment, and psychological testing;
6. Singer/O.V.R. Program providing vocational evaluation and job placement for handicapped welfare recipients;
7. Youth Opportunity Center, an office of the State Employment Service;
8. Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, which assists the mentally, emotionally, and physically handicapped;
9. Veterans Outreach Program, which assists veterans with a wide variety of problems.
10. Urban League, for clerical training;
11. Ibero-American Action League, with employment services for Spanish-speaking persons.

Since the main purpose of this paper is to discuss the resource issue of probation we shall not dwell upon the results of these programs; however, when appropriate, we shall briefly mention the results of research findings. With the PEG program two criteria were evaluated: the effect on client employment, and recidivism.

The population or probationers considered to be "job ready" with regard to employability and chances of avoiding further trouble with the law were randomly assigned to the treatment or control group. Concerning employment, researchers found that the treatment group did relatively better than the controls; however, in most cases the relative gains of the experimental group were not of a sufficient magnitude to be statistically significant. Secondly, they found that, in several cases, the initial gains observed at the six month interval were attenuated at nine months. Thus it appears that the effects of treatment were modest, and that the margin of improvement over the control group was reduced with time.

None of the recidivism data was significant. Recidivism was simply defined as new arrests. The evaluation concluded from the pattern of recidivism findings that the gains in employment among experimental group members were too slight to affect the outcome on rates of recidivism.

The Hi Intensity Unit, more frequently known as the Intensive Services Unit (ISU), provided intensive supervision to two principal classes of probationers: sex offenders and persons placed on psychiatric probation. The project was conducted in the Philadelphia Court of Common Pleas, Adult Probation Department.

The unit is currently supervising 776 persons or roughly 5 percent of the Department client population. These persons are split between psychiatric cases and sex-offender cases. Attempts to build up a third category of client--a high risk assault category--have not been successful, and such a group is no longer a target population for this project.

This unit, together with the Drug Unit, maintains lower caseloads and provides more intensive supervision than any other unit in the Department. At the start of 1976, caseloads averaged 48.5 persons per officer versus 107.1 per officer in non-specialist units. The average non-institutionalized client is seen once every three weeks, or approximately 1.4 times per month. The comparable figure in general supervision units is once every five and a half weeks or .75 times per month.

With decreased caseload size, the depth, intensity, and length of office contacts appears to be greater; however, the total number of office visits does not increase appreciably. There appears to be an upper threshold of about fifty office visits a month for each probation officer.

When tested on the Community Resource Inventory, officers in this unit proved as knowledgeable about general community resources as officers in all the other Philadelphia units. They utilized the same number of community agencies as their counterparts. In addition, officers in this project had developed contact persons in approximately one-third of all the organizations they had heard of. In this respect they shared with the federal units a working relationship with a significatnly larger number of agencies than that enjoyed by the general supervision units.

To test for program effectiveness, a sample of 154 ISU cases was compared with 84 comparable cases in the federal units. The re-arrest rates for both groups were compared after three months on probation/parole and again after twelve months. After three months 7 percent of the ISU group and 12 percent of federal unit group had been re-arrested. After 12 months these figures grew to 17 percent and 29 percent respectively, thus indicating significantly better ($p=.05$) outcomes for the ISU clients.

Further analysis of findings revealed that the differences could be entirely attributed to better success with high-risk cases as measured by a base expectancy score. With respect to low-risk and medium-risk cases, the federal unit cases did just as well as the ISU cases. A preliminary cost comparison of the ISU with other units showed that the unit provided twice as much supervision for approximately twice the cost of other units.[19]

The San Mateo County Probation Department in California is organized into five major divisions: (1) Adult Probation; (2) Juvenile Probation; (3) Juvenile Hall; (4) Camp and Day Programs; (5) Business Management.

A variety of services and activities are provided by this probation department. Some of these include:

A. Ellsworth House and the Mustard Seed. Each house was established as an alternative to County Jail; one being for randomly selected male probationers, and the other for randomly selected females on probation. The residential, home-like facilities serve as a means for gradual readjustment and re-entry into the community while offering supervised living, counseling, educational/vocational training opportunities, and assistance in securing employment.

B. Volunteers in Probation (VIPS) which allows and encourages participation by private citizens.

C. Public Service Project in which selected adult offenders may perform public service, usually in lieu of serving jail time. During 1974, a total of 32,238 hours were completed.

D. Employment Assistance. There were 415 adult cases formally referred to the Employment Consultant. More than 148 industries, business firms, and organizations within the three counties of San Mateo, San Francisco, and Santa Clara have taken an active interest in helping probationers find and sustain work.

E. Federally Funded Training Programs for selected probationers offer a wide variety of training programs while ensuring a modest payment for the living expenses of those in training.

F. Alcohol and Drug Programs are administered by the department, and a drug diversion program was implemented in April of 1973.

Along with the services provided to its clients, this department continues to emphasize its own professional development and the personal growth of its members.[20]

The Department of Health and Social Services in Wisconsin has made an assessment of client needs and developed guidelines for probation departments in servicing these needs. Each need category refers to identification of the problem, the treatment approach, when to make a referral, and the resources available to help meet the particular need. The following is a list of the need categories identified and the resources listed for meeting these needs:[21]

Academic/Vocational Skills

1. Department of Vocational Rehabilitation
2. State Employment Agencies
    a. C.E.T.A.
    b. On-the-Job-Training Program
    c. Vocational Testing
3. Temporary Private Employment Services, such as Manpower. (This sort of resource often does skill-testing.)
4. Bureau of Clinical Services
5. County Mental Health Clinic
6. Technical Schools
7. High Schools
8. C.A.P.

9. College Testing Centers
10. Local Programs
11. Medical Assistance
12. G.E.D. Programs
13. Alternative Schools
14. Free-health Clinics
15. Purchase of Services Funding
16. University Tutoring
17. Culture Minority Organizations
18. Volunteer Organizations
19. Apprenticeship (open-labor organizations)
20. Remedial Aid Groups
21. Literacy Groups
22. Goodwill Industries
23. County Homemakers Services
24. School Counselors
25. Veteran's Administration
26. Religious Organizations (Jewish Vocational Services, Lutheran Social Services)
27. Higher Educational Aid Boards
28. Private Industry
29. Civic Organizations
30. 51.42 Boards
31. Wisconsin Information Service
32. Local Library and Librarian

Employment

1. Job Service; Division of Vocational Rehabilitation (employment assistance and vocational training).
2. Jewish Vocational Services (Milwaukee).
3. Goodwill Industries (several locations).
4. Sheltered Workshops (several locations).
5. Short-term opportunities in federally run or subsidized programs.
6. On-going relationships with local employers (small businessmen and personnel managers of larger firms) have been proven profitable, particularly with the smaller parole offices.

Financial Management

1. Consumer Credit Counseling Services (non-profit agencies which are sponsored by the National Foundation for Consumer Credit, 1819 H Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006).
2. Creditable loan companies may assist in an amortization.
3. Credit Unions could offer a consolidation loan at a reasonable interest rate.
4. The following agencies are available for providing consumer advice and for accepting consumer complaints:
   Division of Consumer Credit, Office of the Commissioner of Banking, 30 West Mifflin Street, Madison, Wisconsin 53702
   Office of Consumer Protection, Department of Justice, State Capitol, Madison, Wisconsin 53702
5. Legal Aid Society (Garnishments, judgments and bankruptcy proceedings).

Marital/Family Relationahips

1. Bureau of Clinical Services, institutional social services and other Bureau personnel.
2. Mental health clinics or counseling centers providing evaluative and/or treatment services.
3. Individual family and marital counselors; e.g., psychiatrists, psychologists, clergymen, social workers.
4. Legal Aid; e.g., separation and divorce process.
5. Planned Parenthood.
6. Private family service agencies; e.g., Lutheran, Catholic, Family Serivces of America
7. County Department of Social Services; e.g., protective services, financial assistance.

Companions

1. Volunteers in Probation
2. Clergy

Emotional Stability

1. Each local unit has a manual of all community resources available, contact persons and referral procedures. This manual notes the type and range of services available for each unit as there is a great deal of variance in programs offered by different localities.
2. Resources available are totally dependent upon the community, but generally the county has one of the following available for clients with an emotional problem:
    a. Community mental health clinic
    b. County guidance clinic
    c. County hospitals

    - d. Private psychiatric clinics
    - e. County social service agencies
    - f. Private social service agencies such as Catholic and Lutheran Social Services
    - g. 51.42 Boards

Alcohol Usage

1. Division of Vocational Rehabilitation Services for Alcoholics
2. Division of Mental Hygiene
3. Bureau of Alcohol and Other Drug Abuse
4. County Hospitals
5. Community Guidance Centers
6. Alcohol Information Referral Services
7. Criminal Justice Reference and Information Center
8. Community Detoxification Centers
9. Alcoholics Anonymous
10. Chemical Support (Antabuse)
11. Halfway Houses

Other Drug Usage

1. It is strongly recommended that agents familiarize themselves with Division of Corrections Resource personnel and the Alcohol and Drug Abuse Resource Directory.

Mental Ability

1. Placements
    - a. Mental retardation treatment and/or residential facility; e.g., Wyalusing. Limitations are understood and activities are geared to the client's abilities.

b. Halfway houses or adult group homes. If available, these placements allow the client to live in the community where he can maintain family, school and work contacts.

c. Foster home. A younger client is able to preserve normal community life opportunities. In addition, the foster home offers the experience of having close parental relationships when real parents are inadequate.

d. Psychological treatment facility; e.g., Mendota (usually designed primarily for emotionally disturbed). This can be used selectively when a retarded client shows indications of much emotional disturbance.

2. Individual and Social Service Agencies

a. Public social service agencies (including SSI disability determination if indicated).

b. Professionals providing diagnosis, referral, and/or treatment; e.g., physicians, psychiatrists, psychologists, Bureau of Clinical Services, attorneys; e.g., protective payee.

c. School personnel; i.e., psychologists, educational counselors, vocational advisors, school social workers, occupational teachers, learning disability teachers.

d. Mental health clinics or counseling centers providing evaluation and/or treatment services.

e. Instructional, vocational services and/or job placement and counseling; i.e., Goodwill, Opportunity Center, if available, State Vocational Rehabilitation

f. Private family service agencies; e.g., Catholic or Lutheran Family Services of America

g. 51.42 Boards. Basically provide funding for treatment given through other agencies and in some areas provide specialized staff to implement the services.

Health

1. Reference
    - a. Medical Dictionary
    - b. Merk Manual
    - c. Physician's Desk Reference
    - d. Telephone Book Yellow Pages under Health or Social Services Organizations
2. Services
    - a. County Guidance Clinics (counseling).
    - b. Treatment Centers for drug and alcohol abusers (counseling).
    - c. Public Health Departments (physical health care and health education).
    - d. Visiting Nurse Service (physical health care in the home).
    - e. State Schools Bureaus for the Blind and Deaf (self-care, social skills and employment training).
    - f. Private physicians; dentists, therapists; local hospitals and clinics.
3. Maintenance
    - a. Local 51.42 Boards (financial aid and counseling for mental health and addiction problems).
    - b. County Social Services (medical assistance, food stamps).
    - c. Social Security Disability (financial).

d. V.A. Assistance (financial).

e. State Division of Vocational Rehabilitation (financial assistance and job-personal counseling for the physically and mentally handicapped).

f. Division Purchase of Services (limited financial aid).

The State of Florida Parole and Probation Commission conducted a statewide survey of Community Treatment Modalites. One of the primary purposes of this survey was to determine what resources were being utilized to rehabilitate the status offender population. The data are quite extensive; however in summary, about 32.4 percent of the clients under supervision in the state were involved in some type of Community Treatment Program. (Note: This figure, 32.4 percent, represents the percentage of program participation for the month of November only. It should be realized that clients participate in Community Treatment Programs usually within their first year under supervision; therefore it is plausible that a higher percentage of the caseload have at one time been involved in some Community Treatment Program.) Of the major program categories; Alcohol, Drug, Education, Psychological/Psychiatric, and Other; Alcohol and Education programs have the greatest participation. The majority of the Alcohol participants were probation misdemeanants, whereas probation felons constituted the majority of the participants in the Education programs. These data and the data presented in the Statewide Survey of Community Treatment Programs are descriptive information. In this area, as in any new area of research, it is essential that the initial research be an attempt to describe what is presently taking place, to delineate the variables affecting the 'problem' area.

Once a data base of descriptive information has been established, other research projects will build upon it, yielding a clearer definition of the 'problem' area. Utilizing the information such as the Statewide Survey as the data base, future research projects should examine;

1) The capacity of the Community Treatment Programs: Are the programs presently being used to capacity? Were the clients (32.4 percent, 15125) in the programs the maximum the programs could handle? If so, could/should the Community Treatment Programs be expanded? If not, how could greater utilization of the available programs take place?

2) The effectiveness of the programs in benefiting (rehabilitating) the offender: Are the programs effective in terms of the programs' goals and objectives? In terms of the opinions of the clients? In terms of the recidivism of program participants? In terms of the opinions of the Parole and Probation Officers?

3) A directory of the available programs within the State including some descriptive information. Some states have or are in the process of putting together these directories.[22]

The Community Resource Management Team Experiment: Topeka Style was a recent attempt at implementing a CRMT into the Probation Department of Topeka, Kansas. In March, 1975, the Kansas Department of Corrections sent a group of five staff members to WICHE as participants in the CRMT Training Program. Upon return to Kansas, the CRMT was implemented as a pilot project in the Topeka office. The first task was to identify the needs of the entire Topeka caseload; these include: Employment, Vocational Training, Academic Training, Health, Mental Health, Legal, Substance Abuse, and Housing. After identifying the caseload needs, they identified and contacted all resources available to the Topeka community. At this point, many problems began to surface and for several months it was necessary to refer to much of the training provided from WICHE to solve these problems. This project was a completely new approach, and the staff found such a complete change extremely difficult.

After five months of preparation the Topeka CRMT was finally ready for actual implementation. The office was to endure a year of pain, division and bitter frustration before finally achieving a smooth-running and harmonious operation. Along the way they were faced with and overcame such problems as making the conversion from individual caseload management to team management of a total pooled caseload, achieving an equitable workload distribution, learning to share responsibilities and decision-making, staff resistance to the CRMT concept, unreconcilable differences in philosophy and personality conflicts between staff members and finally after the last two had taken their toll, a personnel shortage.

At the present time, Topeka CRMT feels that a large amount of progress has been made in streamlining the project with increasing effectiveness. Topeka CRMT is now devoting more time to other areas needing attention.[23]

While new, innovative strategies for delivering necessary services to probationers are currently being implemented and tested, it is obvious that most probation offices still employ the traditional casework model. It is also apparent that this strategy is sorely outdated. In a report to the Congress by the Comptroller General of the United States, in 1976, the verdict was that state and county probation departments are in a crisis situation. In dealing with the problems of providing services to probationers, they concluded that a probationer receiving needed services will more likely complete probation successfully, and that if probation departments would allocate their scarce resources more effectively, they would begin to more adequately rehabilitate more offenders. They found that in only 38 percent of the cases were rehabilitation plans prepared, only 41 percent of court-ordered conditions of probation and rehabilitation were enforced and overall, only 23 percent of the probationers completed a treatment program.[24]

They placed most of the blame for this failure on large caseloads. They concluded that excessive caseloads are a detriment to effective management. Large caseloads force probation systems to focus services and attention on the probationers who need the most help and supervision. Neither the courts nor probation departments have adequate techniques to determine how much supervision or what type of services probationers need.

The Comptroller General recommended that new ideas and more positive leadership are needed to improve probation at the state and local levels. If no action is taken, probation systems will continue to be overburdened and will deteriorate further, increasing the dangers to society.

--States should develop minimum standards covering such areas as workload and need for pre-sentence reports.

--Probation predictive models should be used more frequently.

--Information systems should be improved.

--Probations should receive needed services.

--States should better identify probation problems.

--Better technical assistance should be given.

--More funds controlled by the agencies should be spent to improve probation.[25]

But something more fundamental must happen. Since most offenders are placed on probation and many problems face probation departments, the priority given to probation in the criminal justice system must be reevaluated. Allocation of resources among the competing elements of the criminal justice system should be looked at more closely.

One area of probation that has been sorely overlooked in the literature (and by probation departments) is the special needs of female offenders. In a National Study of Women's Correctional Programs, prison administrators gave their views on women inmate's special needs, and while not pertaining directly to probation, most are applicable.

In keeping with the prison administrators' primary philosophy and orientation towards treatment, rehabilitation and, to a lesser extent, reintegration into society, most administrators indicated that the special needs of female offenders concern their children and family and their emotional problems and related low self-esteem. Although several prison administrators expressed concern with the inmate's special needs for medical services and improved skills training leading to employability, less emphasis was placed on these concerns. In general, most of the following special needs of female inmates identified by prison administrators emphasized views concerning the inmate's personal needs for change and improvement primarily as they relate to her traditional role as mother and homemaker:

--The inmate's social role in society is homemaking; she needs a home-like setting, even in prison (This is why women inmates turn to homosexuality.); she needs stronger ties to family and better relationships with her children; she needs to learn how to care for her children.

--Being "head of household" is a big problem for many women inmates.

--Women inmates are unmotivated; they need more counseling and positive social involvement; they need to acquire problem-solving skills; women inmates have low self-esteem because of societal stigma.

--Women have difficulty dealing with institutionalization.

--Women inmates need to learn to stand alone (Many are looking for knights in shining armor.).

--They need more medical help (because they're women).

--The women have few skills, they have employability problems.

Most of the program emphasis in prisons reflected administrators' views that the inmates need to strengthen their ability to perform in traditional supportive roles as mother and homemaker, rather than as worker. In contrast, managers of most community-based programs adhered to the viewpoint that imparting survival skills and a sense of individual responsibility is the key to client success and, therefore, this is the offender's need.

The same national study surveyed prison administrators on their attitudes toward involvement of outside agencies in prison programs and services. Their expressed attitudes indicated "conflict between the value and advantage of more flexible, creative programs, less cost, and contact with the community versus the need to maintain security and control and the perceived disruptive nature of programs run by citizens viewed as naive, gullible and requiring supervision and time commitments on the part of correctional staff."[26]

Summary

In summary, we have attempted to address the issue of resources in probation by describing these resources and the strategies employed for obtaining and delivering them. We discussed the four primary responsibilities of probation; surveillance, investigation, concrete needs counseling, and emotional needs counseling. We also gave the two dominant strategies for delivery: casework and community resource management teams.

We have explained some practical ways in which probation departments can acquire services and distribute resources. While the examples cited do not begin to approximate the number of actual operational probation programs, they do serve the purpose of illustrating how diversified various probation departments are. Unfortunately, we have not been able to determine the best strategy for delivering resources, and the research that has been done to date is either incomplete or poorly done. We have no good cost-effectiveness or cost-benefit evaluation. The importance of this type of information cannot be stressed enough. These types of data can help probation departments make efficient selections in terms of the resources they will employ and the strategies used to deliver those resources. It is also important to add that, while many of these new and innovative programs cannot yet be supported by empirical data, they do represent a humane attempt at readjusting the offender back into society.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER IV

[1] Raymond D. Clements. Para-professionals in Probation and Parole: A Manual for Their Selection, Training, Induction and Supervision in Day-to-Day Tasks (Chicago, Illinois: U.S. Probation Office, 1972) pp. 33-44.

[2] Ben Meeker, "Probation Is Casework," Federal Probation, Vol. 12, No. 2 (June 1948) pp. 51-54.

[3] Elliot Studt, "Casework in the Correctional Field," Federal Probation, Vol. 17, No. 3 (September 1954) p. 23.

[4] Joseph P. Miscione, "Brokerage - A Realistic Approach to Probation Supervision," Texas Journal of Corrections (December 1976) pp. 23-25.

[5] H. Ted Rubin, "New Directions in Misdemeanant Probation," Judicature, Vol. 60, No. 9 (April 1977) p. 436.

[6] Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education. CRMT: Community Resource Management Team, Promotional Pamphlet (Boulder, Colorado: Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, n.d.).

[7] Ibid.

[8] Participating teams were from: Tucson, Arizona; Oakland, California; Salinas, California; Kansas City, Missouri; Topeka, Kansas; St. Louis, Missouri; Bismarck, North Dakota; Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; El Paso, Texas; Portland, Oregon.

[9] West Texas Regional Adult Probation Department, Community Resource Management Team for Adult Offenders (El Paso, Texas: West Texas Regional Adult Probation Department, January 1977) p. 6.

[10] Frank Dell'Apa, W. Tom Adams, James D. Jorgensen, and Herbert R. Sigurdson, "Advocacy, Brokerage, Community: The ABC's of Probation and Parole," Federal Probation, Vol. 40, No. 4 (December 1976) pp. 42-43.

[11] Ibid., pp. 39-40.

[12] Ibid., pp. 40-41.

[13] West Texas Regional Adult Probation Department, ibid., p. 4.

[14] Gene Kassebaum *et al.*, *Contracting for Correctional Services in the Community* (Draft) (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, 1976) p. 7.

[15] Kassebaum *et al.*,ibid., 11. 8-11.

[16] Ibid., p. 15.

[17] Ibid., p. 17.

[18] Rochester-Monroe County Criminal Justice Pilot City Program, *Probation Employment and Guidance Program II, Experimental Action Program* (Rochester, New York: Monroe County Probation Department, July 1974).

[19] Social Research Associates, *Refunding Report, HI Intensity Unit* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Philadelphia Adult Probation Department, April 1976).

[20] San Mateo County Probation Department, *Employment of the Probationer* (Belmont, California: San Mateo County Probation Department, 1975).

[21] Wisconsin Department of Health and Social Services, *Project Report No. 10: Treatment Guidelines* (Madison, Wisconsin: Bureau of Probation and Parole, April 1977).

[22] Sunil B. Nath, *Statewide Survey: Community Treatment Modalities* (Tallahassee, Florida: Florida Parole and Probation Commission, March 1975) pp. 130-131.

[23] Victor D. Obley, Dan R. Woodson, and John R. Miller, "The Community Resource Management Team Experiment: Topeka Style," Paper presented at the Congress of Corrections, American Correctional Association, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, August 1977.

[24] Comptroller General of the United States, *State and County Probation: Systems in Crisis, Report to the Congress of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, May 1976).

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ruth M. Glick and Virginia V. Neto, *National Study of Women's Correctional Programs* (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, June 1977) pp. 38-39.

CHAPTER V

THE USE OF PARAPROFESSIONALS IN PROBATION

Introduction

Probation in the United States was begun in 1841 by volunteers of whom John Augustus, a cobbler, was the first. Probation was presented as an alternative to incarceration. Today, over two hundred courts in the United States, most of them adult misdemeanor or juvenile courts, are using part or full-time volunteers to provide correctional services. Many of these volunteers are well-educated, middle-class businessmen or professionals in other fields. These volunteers are usually unpaid workers who provide more or less regular continuing services. Much of the volunteers' usefulness stems from their knowledge of community resources and opportunities.

In the last ten years, a movement to recruit auxiliary personnel from within the ranks of, or at least from within the same social class as, the population served by the probation system, has gained increasing strength. Such individuals, often designated as indigenous paraprofessionals, are being used in a variety of social services, including corrections. While related to volunteer programs and similarly designed to ease manpower shortages, the rationale for the indigenous paraprofessional in corrections differs somewhat from that of the volunteer.

Most professional corrections workers agree that a large segment of their clientele are, by virtue of their norms, values, and lifestyles, alienated from the mainstream of society. Frequently, these persons are referred to as hard-to-reach, unmotivated, mistrustful, and resentful of authority. There exists, in other words, a marked social distance between many middle-class professional corrections workers and a large segment of their lower-class clientele. Moreover, social distance by definition discourages client identification with the professional and often makes it very difficult for the professional to serve as an effective role model. The indigenous worker, conversely, has often experienced situations and problems similar to those that confront certain clients. The indigenous worker has the advantage of proximity in time and space, while typically the professional is limited to a nine to five, Monday to Friday schedule, living some distance from those served. The indigenous worker, living closer to his clients, has much greater familiarity with their environments, and has greater freedom to move about at times other than business hours. Inter-racial tensions in certain areas point out the need for non-professionals recruited from groups having an ethnic or racial affinity with certain offender populations. A communication gap resulting from social and cultural distance between middle-class professionals of any race and lower class minority group members is a growing problem in rehabilitation services.

Grosser noted that indigenous persons bring to their staff positions unique qualities: an affinity with lower-class life; the folk wisdom of the urban slum, and the ability to communicate with and be accepted by the ethnic poor. He saw the local resident worker as "a bridge between the lower class client and the middle-class professional worker."[1]

A logical extension of using the indigenous paraprofessional in corrections is use of the former offender. Drawing upon the experience of Alcoholics Anonymous, Synanon, and other self-help groups, it appears that individuals who have experienced and overcome a problem have a unique capacity to help others with similar problems. The theory on which these self-help programs are based was first and perhaps best described by Cressy in 1955. The essence of the theory follows:

1. If criminals are to be changed, they must be assimilated into groups which emphasize values conducive to law-abiding behavior and, concurrently, alienated from groups emphasizing values conducive to criminality. Since our experience has been that the majority of criminals experience great diffi-

> culty in securing intimate contacts in ordinary groups, special groups whose major common goal is the reformation of criminals must be created.
>
> 2. The more relevant the common purpose of the group to the reformation of criminals, the greater will be its influence on the criminal members' attitudes.
>
> 3. The more cohesive the group, the greater the members' readiness to influence others and the more relevant the problem of conformity to group norms. The criminals who are to be reformed and the persons expected to effect the change must, then, have a strong sense of belonging to one group: between them there must be a genuine "we" feeling. The reformers, consequently, should not be identifiable as correctional officers or social workers.
>
> 4. Both reformers and those to be reformed must achieve status within the group by exhibition of "pro-reform" or anti-criminal values and behavior patterns. As a novitiate. . . he is a therapeutic parasite and not actually a member until he accepts the group's own system for assigning status.
>
> 5. The most effective mechanism for exerting group pressure on members will be found in groups so organized that criminals are induced to join with non-criminals for the purpose of changing other criminals. A group in which Criminal A joins with some non-criminals to change Criminal B is probably most effective in changing Criminal A, not B. In order to change Criminal B, Criminal A must necessarily share the values of the anti-criminal members.[2]

In addition, evidence exists which indicates that "role reversal" is a key method in rehabilitation of certain offenders. Riessman characterized this phenomenon as the helper therapy principle and concluded: "perhaps, then, social work's strategy ought to be to devise ways of creating more helpers, or, to be more exact, to find ways to transform recipients of help into dispensers of help, thus reversing their roles, and to structure the situation so that recipients of help will be placed in roles requiring the giving of assistance."[3]

Expanding the role of paraprofessionals in probation may be perceived as a threat by the system's professionals. However, if the manpower needs of corrections are to be met, expanding the role of the paraprofessional is a very realistic alternative. Some of the common rationales advanced for the use of paraprofessionals are: (1) there is a large pool of untrained, unemployed nonprofessionals from which to recruit, (2) it is possible to train nonprofessionals to perform significant reform roles, and (3) it would be economically efficient to use nonprofessionals in the reformation process.

In addressing the paraprofessional's role within an organizational framework, several major issues will be discussed: (1) the preparation of the professional staff, (2) the recruitment and selection criteria, (3) orientation and training, (4) placement and responsibilities, (5) the size, type and supervision of caseloads (relative to the professionals) and, finally (6) the effectiveness of the paraprofessional in meeting the objectives and goals of the correctional organization.

In reviewing the literature concerning paraprofessionals in probation, it was found that while many generalities and similarities were present, there were also some basic differences from program to program. We will attempt to cite these organizational differences and the effects they had upon the paraprofessional.

Preparation of the Professional Staff

Before recruitment is even begun, it is very important to prepare the professional staff. Successfully integrating a paraprofessional program into an existing correctional organization depends upon adequate orientation of the professional staff to the purpose of the program and the role and function of the paraprofessional vis-a-vis the professional. If the paraprofessionals are to have a chance of success they must be accepted by the professionals. Clements offered the following orientation points for the professional staff which should be kept in mind:[4]

1. The basic purpose of the program is not to supplant the professional staff, but to provide a team approach between the professional and paraprofessional.
2. The professional provides direct supervision to the paraprofessional's skill in concrete problem areas and retains ultimate

control over the client's rehabilitation process. This is particularly important in areas where an unskilled person may lack insight into the client's welfare, such as the more subtle or complex forms of emotional problems.

3. The professional should not use the paraprofessional as a mere errand boy, for routine police checks or simple fetch-and-carry tasks only. Such usage is uneconomical and fails to maximize the social-psychological background of the paraprofessional.

4. Particular attention should also be paid to the fact that many professionals have not been in the habit of sharing their relationships with clients and may regard the team approach as an intrusion into a professional relationship. Such attitudes are not characteristic among the best qualified professionals, e.g., as between doctors and nurses.

5. If only a few paraprofessional personnel positions are proposed in relation to the total professional staff, the workload of the paraprofessional should be distributed among the professional staff members. Failure to do so can alienate those staff members who do not have the benefit of a paraprofessional team member.

6. In-service training should be the responsibility of the professional so that he not only enhances the team effort but experiences a teacher-pride in the professional development of the paraprofessional. Moreover, in-service training is a natural part of supervising paraprofessionals.

7. The professional should always discuss the client's major problem areas with the paraprofessional before directing him to contact a client. It may be necessary at times to conduct an initial joint interview between the professional, paraprofessional, and the client. This is particularly true in those cases where the client is accustomed to dealing with the professional and may become apprehensive about the new division of labor between professional and paraprofessional. Client apprehensions may vary from simple fear of the newness of the relationship to resentment that he does not have a "regular" officer.

8. The professional should also notify other agencies of the paraprofessional's future role so that the personnel of those agencies with which the paraprofessional will normally deal will expect him. This will facilitate the paraprofessional's use of other agencies and expand his knowledge of the probation-parole process. In some cases, it may be beneficial to have the paraprofessional accompany the professional on agency visits.

9. During the orientation process, recognition should be given to the fact that, initially at least, in-service training will consume professional time. The professional should use this in-service training period to determine the capacity of the paraprofessional assigned to him, to re-define his own tasks accordingly, and to work out a new division of labor in order to look at the long-term benefits of a team approach.

10. The professional should discuss with the paraprofessional both immediate and long-term expectations, particularly from a career development point of view. Early tasks assigned to the paraprofessional should be simple and then increase in complexity according to his demonstrated ability. With cumulative experience and opportunities for more advanced training, some of the more highly motivated and talented paraprofessionals should be extended the opportunity to qualify as professional workers on the merits of their achievements.

These simple, yet important points can reduce resistance and can, in part, help insure that the paraprofessionals will be given every opportunity to succeed.

Recruitment and Selection of Paraprofessionals

After the professional staff has been briefed as to the planned program, the recruiting stage begins. The following types of sources for recruiting have generally been found to be most productive:

1. Professional Probation-Parole Officer Recommendations: This type of recommendation is particularly helpful when recruiting ex-offenders, since the professional can screen out undesirables from both his own knowledge and the individual's institutional history and record. This can also be a source for recruiting non-offenders from areas with which the officer is familiar and has established contacts.

2. Local Social Service Agency Referral: Referrals should be sought from local social service agencies, such as state employment centers and public aid departments, as well as from other municipal and county agencies. Private agencies located in the area to be served by the paraprofessional should also be consulted.

3. Word-of-Mouth: Word-of-mouth, particularly that spread by the paraprofessional who has already been employed, should also prompt self-referrals.

4. Neighborhood/Community Support: Leaders in neighborhood organizations located in the area to be served should be briefed on the program. Community support can be a powerful tool in the rehabilitative process. The same organization that provides a source for recruiting paraprofessionals may also provide a client with support in the rehabilitation process.

5. Local Media Coverage: Press and television coverage can be a great aid in the initial phase of recruitment. If the local needs involve minority group recruitment, however, the super-

visor might well consider using a minority group member for such a presentation. The presentation should describe the paraprofessional program and the employment opportunities it offers in simple "equal opportunity" terms so that no potential recruit feels he is excluded. Similarly the recruitment efforts should not portray the program as a panacea for all correctional problems.

6. Brochure/Leaflet Distribution: A brochure or leaflet may be prepared describing the program and the employment opportunities it offers to paraprofessionals. Such a publication can be sought as well as placed conspicuously in public areas frequently by large segments of the immediate community.

7. Newspaper advertising and employment office notices: This can be extremely successful since those seeking employment often consult the want ads and employment agencies.[5]

Most paraprofessional applicants will not have had previous work experience related to the field they now seek to enter and little, if any, formal education along these lines. The selection criteria and process therefore, should seek to determine their potential. Moreover, even after the selection criteria and process have resulted in preliminary retention, employment should be offered on a probationary basis until the applicant has undergone the orientation and initial training program. Applicant response to the training sessions and early evaluation of his on-the-job performance will test his motivation and adaptability to the program and serve to adjust the screening process to conform to the program's needs. This procedure should also tend to ease the applicant's transition into his new job, dispelling any of his misconceptions about probationers and minimize the possibility of counter-productive relationships between himself and the probationer.

Selection Criteria

While selection criteria varied somewhat from program to program there are many standard characteristics and requirements.

The actual selection of paraprofessionals is perhaps the most crucial point. In a program aimed at reorienting offenders to an acceptable and constructive role in society, the applicants selected should have basic integrity which clients can recognize and trust.

Most of the programs reviewed suggested that the selection of paraprofessionals should be divided into three stages--screening of written application, interview, and successful completion of an orientation and training program. Further, it is suggested that the paraprofessionals recruited should meet the following criteria:

1. Be twenty-one or older, preferably over twenty-five. Experience with similar programs indicates that a minimum age of twenty-five years yields more mature and effective individuals, even when dealing with youthful clients.

2. Be familiar with and knowledgeable about specific geographical areas or neighborhoods where clients are likely to be residents.

3. Have qualifications commensurate with the salary range and job description, thus generally avoiding "overqualified" recruits. In most cases both the salary range and job description will tend to limit the type of applicant to the socio-economic level desired.

4. Have ethnic characteristics similar to those of population and the neighborhood in which clients are likely to live. While civil rights statutes explicitly forbid discrimination, the interviewers can describe the characteristics of the client population and the kinds of neighborhoods in which the applicant will be expected to serve.

5. If the applicant is an ex-offender, he should have been off parole and free of offenses long enough to have a "free-world" employment history. In the case of ex-offender applicants, the supervisor or agency might wish to set limits as to type of offense and length of time since the applicant has been placed on parole or probation when reviewing the application. An example of this in the federal system is a record of treason or bribery of a government official which automatically excludes an applicant. Statutory limits, as well as civil service provisions and waiver processes for hiring ex-offenders, vary from state to state. The "rap" sheet or FBI file and the prosecutor's statement-of-facts to the institution to which the individual was committed should not of themselves be determinative, since they are frequently ambiguous, incomplete, or out-of-date. The institutional job supervisor can often be most helpful in ascertaining the applicant's job habits and adjustment flexibility. This is particularly useful when the applicant has been incarcerated for a number of years and has no recent "free world" employment history.

On the other hand, while an ex-offender may empathize with a client because of a shared experience, in similar programs some ex-offenders have been harder on clients than the non-offender. The applicant's ex-offender status should be considered potentially useful, but insufficient, as a determining factor.

6. Be able to secure references attesting to stability. When possible, general references supplied by the applicant should be checked for any negative community references before the screening interview. Prior employment should also be checked as is customary when hiring other staff members. While the paraprofessional may come from a last-to-be-hired-first-to-be-fired group, employment stability is of primary concern in the rehabilitative process and cannot be supported by a paraprofessional who is unstable in this area himself; nor will such instability enhance the program.

7. Be rated as at least "acceptable" during interviews on the following scale:

   a. excellent--applicant displays excellent qualities
   b. very good--applicant displays trainability and good motivation
   c. acceptable--applicant is deficient in some qualities but appears trainable
   d. marginal risk--applicant is deficient in many qualities, displays ambiguous motivation and has marginal trainability
   e. unacceptable

8. Be without:

   serious physical or emotional handicaps
   alcoholic or narcotic problems
   histories of assaultive behavior
   failure to disclose probationary or parole status
   new arrests (if ex-offender)

In addition to these criteria, qualities of a more subtle nature are considered fundamental to the paraprofessional's attainment of success. Among those qualities are:

1. A "common sense" understanding, though not necessarily verbalized, of the general society's basic values, standards, and laws, with good control over impulses, and acceptance of responsibility for one's own behavior;

2. At least an intuitive knowledge that discomfort or stress tends to reduce effectiveness of human functioning, and that immediate help in crisis improves the probability of success;

3. Ability to recognize one's own limitations and request the supervisor's help when appropriate (e.g., in crises) and avoid personal involvement;

4. Knowledge of community resources and ability to use them appropriately;

5. An understanding of how to develop a helping relationship in service of the client rather than for one's own needs;

6. A capacity to accept individual differences, recognize clients as persons of worth and dignity, control any tendency to be judgmental, and exercise flexibility in dealing with clients.[6]

The potential development of these qualities is as much sought in the applicants as the attributes themselves, with further development and enhancement of these very attributes a major goal of orientation and training.

The selection criteria of operating paraprofessional programs did vary somewhat; for example, in Yolo County (California), the minority probation aides project selected Mexican-Americans only, since their goal was an improvement of probation services to the Mexican-American community. The major need was for Spanish speaking aides.[7] The Probation Officers Case Aide Project conducted in Chicago found it difficult to recruit whites. No reason was given for this difficulty, but it did present a problem of some importance since probationers and paraprofessionals were matched racially.[8]

Orientation and Training

The major objective of orientation is to establish a foundation for subsequent in-service learning in both group and individual supervision and to serve as a final screening mechanism before case assignment. Every attempt should be made to keep orientation relatively informal while providing background information in such a way as to enable the paraprofessionals to perform their tasks without at the same time neutralizing the "indigenous" qualities which make them valuable as paraprofessionals.

The expectations of orientation should not be high. Most of the training deemed necessary for minimal job performance should be designed to take place "in-service," during ensuing contacts with the supervisor and other paraprofessionals. There is a very real danger of "over-training" the paraprofessionals. Too much formal training may threaten or bore the indigenous paraprofessionals, or, equally undesirable, "bleed-out" the very qualities which make them desirable candidates in the first place.

Although orientation is followed by training, together they constitute a continuous process in which the paraprofessional is introduced to some of the basic concepts and contents of the field of corrections and then is taught to develop his skills in helping clients. Such orientation and training is primarily a supervisory responsibility which enters into the continuing relationship between the supervising professional and the learning paraprofessional. At all stages of the orientation and training, the paraprofessional should be impressed with the fact that he is a necessary and valuable team member who has an important role to play in the functions of the agency.

The more formal orientation program can involve lectures presented by persons who are well-informed on the range of topics to be covered, such as introductory materials to the organization and functions of the agency. It is important to remember that too much formal training delivered too quickly, and in too concentrated a form, may overwhelm paraprofessionals who unlike most professionals may not be as conditioned to the classroom setting. For this reason, lectures should be supplemented by films and other visual aids, examples of reporting forms and other forms used in office tasks, and reprints of articles describing good practice. All such educational aids should serve as a focus and point of departure for group discussions. In all subsequent supervisory conferences and relations, the professional should constantly reinforce and elaborate on the materials related to the organizational functions and probationer problem areas covered during the orientation program.

If the orientation and training serves merely to deliver the vocabulary of professionalism without increasing the insight and sophistication of the paraprofessional, it will have been inadequate. For instance, it may have prematurely cancelled out some of the very "non-professional" qualities that make the paraprofessional a valuable adjunct to the professional in bridging the gap between himself and the client, without having really increased the competence of the paraprofessional. The skillful supervisor will not only help the paraprofessional develop his full potential, but will also help him to recognize his own normal limitations in the helping process. For example, a paraprofessional may be so eager to achieve change in the attitudes and behavior of his clients that he becomes frustrated if the client does not readjust as rapidly as the paraprofessional may have expected. Or, the paraprofessional may tend to be so overhelpful that his client becomes overly dependent upon him. Paraprofessionals have to be carefully taught that the achievement of rehabilitative goals requires both a firm patience about the expectation of change and a measured helpfulness in achieving it.

As a supplement to the orientation, or relatively early in the on-going supervisory training, field trips can be organized to enable the paraprofessional to have some personalized exposure to the institutions and agencies that are related to work of the probation officer. These should include visits to the criminal courts, jails, and prisons that are the source of clients. A morning spent in a criminal court to observe the routine processing of cases or a visit to a penal institution, including some discussion with court functionairies, custodial and treatment staff, and inmates, can be particularly enlightening to the paraprofessional whose previous knowledge of criminal justice may consist of mass-media stereotypes or brief encounters as a client.

The topics covered during the orientation should be discussed in weekly or bi-weekly conferences or group discussions that serve as the on-going training sessions. The paraprofessional's own cases should be the center of discussions of principles or problem areas. The paraprofessional should be encouraged to present his reasons for management of a given case and discuss it with the professionals and other paraprofessionals. Such combined sessions serve as a two-way street for the communication of instructive materials. The professional can correct and instruct the paraprofessional while also learning from the life style and experience of the paraprofessional. This will not only serve as a supportive tool for the paraprofessional, but also as a means of helping the professional better understand such areas as minority group attitudes and mores, as well as client attitudes and problems. Such sessions can, in effect, also be seen as professional staff development training sessions and can serve broader functions by having other agency personnel sit in on the sessions, for example, employment and vocational rehabilitation personnel. The confidentiality of the client's file however, should not be compromised in such sessions. Moreover, the positive contribution of simple human warmth in the helping process should not be devalued by stressing an impersonal objectivity in case management. Such impersonality may be functional for the overburdened probation-parole officer, but that is precisely one of the disadvantages of professionalism that the use of paraprofessionals is designed to overcome.

Finally, but not least important, the supervisor should stress throughout the orientation and training process that clients represent a heterogeneous population. Ill-defined and poorly understood labels, like psychopath or sociopath, serve mainly to stigmatize rather than contribute to understanding human behavior. If paraprofessionals are trained merely to apply labels to their clients, they will have been furnished with a reason for not trying to help those clients. It is much more useful to view clients as people who have unsuccessfully adjusted to life's problems. They were either inadequately trained or could not compete to find a legitimate niche in society. A few may well have psychological problems that require professional help; but, by and large, clients represent virtually all personality types and all behavior patterns. What clients have in common is the fact of their conviction for a crime and the many disabling consequences that flow from that fact. In most cases, adequate counseling and guidance, plus assistance in alleviating concrete problems, will effect changes.

This does not mean, however, that the client does not have special problems; he does. He has the problem of overcoming his past and adjusting to his future. Acquainting the paraprofessional with these special problems and the methods of successfully coping with them is the function of the orientation and training program as delivered by the professional supervisory personnel.

The orientation and training programs offered by operating programs varied. Some involved a relatively short, informal acquaintance with the office and the expected duties and others were more formal, involved programs that lasted for several weeks. While a long and drawn-out program is not recommended, it is suggested that periodic sessions should be continued for some time to help deal with problems that may arise.

Since the orientation and training program can also be a screening out process, a probationary period should be set to help deal with those applicants not meeting the requirements or duties expected of the paraprofessional.

Placement and Responsibilities

In almost every situation, the paraprofessionals were assigned to work directly with a professional staff member. The number assigned to each probation officer varied, with a supervisor heading the team. In Project Jaguar in Philadelphia, two aides were assigned to each of three district probation offices. Two of these offices had only recently been established and were still in the process of becoming fully staffed or finding permanent locations. The third unit was an established office in West Philadelphia. Socialization of the aides into departmental and unit procedures was somewhat uneven. There were clearly fewer visible transitional problems in the one established unit where the unit itself did not have to contend with its own growing pains as well.[9]

The delegation of responsibility to a paraprofessional should be a gradual and incremental process. In the initial stages, a paraprofessional may tend to be overly idealistic and assume more role functions than he can realistically fulfill. The professional or training supervisor should attempt to delineate the paraprofessional's responsibilities and functions without unduly dampening his natural enthusiasm. There may also be an element of bewilderment on the part of a new paraprofessional which can be eased by graduating his level of responsibilities and functions as he progresses in his in-service training.

The paraprofessional should be informed that his basic responsibility is to his professional supervisor and to his clients. This means that the ultimate decision-making must always be coordinated with his supervisor's concept of the client's rehabilitation and treatment needs and that he, the paraprofessional, is a team member in effecting or carrying out such plans. With regard to his clients, the paraprofessional's responsibility is to make his client aware of the rationale for treatment and seek the client's participation in such plans. In order to carry out these basic responsibilities, the paraprofessional must discuss his client's needs with his professional supervisor prior to contacting the client. He must contact his client as frequently as his supervisor advises and must summarize and report such contacts within a reasonable time to prevent losing the memory-freshness of the contact. A suggested reporting deadline is twelve hours. The report should be promptly reviewed by the paraprofessional's supervisor and, if questions arise, they should be brought immediately to the attention of the paraprofessional by the supervisor. The professional should take the time during the early in-service training period to instruct the paraprofessional on basic report-writing techniques.

The caseload responsibility of the paraprofessional initially should be task-oriented. Surveillance and "listening" types of assignments should be given to him. As he progresses (in four to six months), his responsibilities should be gradually increased to helping the client meet concrete or environmental needs, such as housing and employment. Between the first and second years, his area of responsibility should be gradually widened to include investigative and counseling responsibilities.

Although there will be some overlap, these responsibilities can be considered four sequential categories which form the basis for the in-service development of the paraprofessional. These primary categories are:

1. Surveillance

2. Investigation

3. Concrete Needs Counseling

4. Emotional Needs Counseling[10]

Surveillance is not intended to serve the sole purpose of catching a client in the act of committing a crime or violating a technical rule. Rather, it is a form of continuous support to a client who is trying to re-establish himself in a threatening environment. To serve as an effective tool for rehabilitation, surveillance contacts should be recorded by the paraprofessional in such a manner that they afford the professional some insight into the client's progress in attaining the goal of the rehabilitation plan.

Investigation - The degree to which the paraprofessional should participate in investigation activities is a question of some sensitivity and should be determined in advance by local policy. If an arrest has occurred, the paraprofessional should gather facts and prepare a report for his supervisor. A more difficult situation arises however, when the paraprofessional suspects the client is about to engage in violative behavior. The question of who should investigate what and to what degree is difficult to answer, but what is clear is that the paraprofessional should report his suspicions to his supervisor at the earliest possible moment. The supervisor must then determine just what parts of the investigative task he will allocate to the paraprofessional. The professional supervisor must have firm control of any investigation processes and the final judgments should be his.

Concrete needs counseling. Counseling represents a most effective and profitable use of paraprofessional's services. The concrete needs-counseling provided by paraprofessionals should include the following areas: employment, education and training, housing, clothing, financial, medical and dental assistance,and transportation.

Emotional needs counseling. The paraprofessional, by definition, is not a professionally-trained person. While the paraprofessional may share many social and psychological qualities with clients, the fact is that he has not been systematically trained in the social and psychological sciences. Consequently, the paraprofessional must be taught to appreciate his own limitations and must practice self-restraint when confronted with complex behavior problems. The fact that a paraprofessional is employed in one of the helping occupations does not convert him into a psychologist or psychiatrist. At the same time, no paraprofessional who is working for a probation office can be shielded from occasional confrontation with complex, disturbed, or irrational behavior on the part of the clients. It is well, therefore that, as a routine part of supervision and in-service training, the supervisor helps prepare the paraprofessional for such experiences. The supervisor should strive to impart to paraprofessionals some of the elementary dynamics of human behavior and common symptoms of mental disturbance. It should also be made clear to the paraprofessional that not all emotional needs of clients require a degree in psychology for an adequate response. In most cases, what is needed between clients and paraprofessional, and supervisor as well, is simple human warmth and understanding. It does not require a great deal of training for one human being to respond to another in basic human terms.

Some of the most common areas in which clients manifest their emotional needs and in which the paraprofessional can engage in helpful emotional needs counseling include: social adjustment, familial and marital readjustment, apprehension, debts and income, and feelings of rejection and suspicion.

Types of Caseloads

The assignments and size of caseloads varied in every study we reviewed, however there are some basic generalizations that can be offered in assigning clients to paraprofessionals.

Optimally, the paraprofessional should be assigned "new" cases, that is, clients who have not been under the supervision of a "regular" probation officer. This is recommended to avoid the reaction on the part of the client that he is being unnecessarily "shuffled" from person to person, or that the quality of his supervision is being reduced in status. As farfetched as it may seem, such feelings were manifested in the experimental POCA Project, in Chicago, and ranged from negative feelings toward a "new" man (i.e., the paraprofessional) to feelings by blacks that they were being "sold short" by having black paraprofessional supervision agents assigned to them.[11] Once a paraprofessional program of this kind is firmly established, however, such reactions do not tend to recur.

The supervisor should then prepare a brief diagnostic summary of the client, paying particular attention to the client's service needs (i.e., problem areas) and his area of residence plans. The case should then be staffed by the supervisor and the probation officer and matched with the paraprofessional to whom the client is to be assigned on the basis of such factors as race, the degree of harmony between client service needs and the paraprofessional's strengths and weaknesses, and residential proximity. For special problem cases, such as narcotics addiction or alcoholism, consideration should be given to assigning a paraprofessional who has himself experienced such a problem and overcome it.

The supervisor should expect paraprofessionals to vary markedly in their general approach to the role of change agent. The largest group of paraprofessionals will be most comfortable and skillful in providing concrete forms of services directly or through formal referrals. Some will be proficient at counseling. A few will function best in a surveillant capacity. All will be good at "rapping" or listening to clients, although they may be less verbal than regular probation officers in the office.

The supervisor or professional team member should capitalize on such differences in approach by matching the paraprofessional's talents with client needs. Matching along racial, ethnic, or residential dimensions is easily done; but other kinds of matching must be done by trial and error until experience reveals the range of skills possessed by paraprofessionals. The paraprofessional's ability to empathize and simply listen, however, is of paramount importance in accelerating the positive aspects of the rehabilitation process. A high degree of motivation, involvement, and enthusiasm may be characteristic of the paraprofessional, particularly when he deals with a client on a regular weekly basis. If it is feasible, the number of clients assigned to paraprofessionals should enable them to make such weekly contacts; in any case, the number should not be overwhelming.

The Probation Officer Case Aide Project, (POCA) Phase I, conducted in 1968, in Chicago was a three year field study of the use of fifty-two part-time indigenous paraprofessionals in the federal probation system. Each case aide assumed sole responsibility for providing services to one, two, or three "hard-to-reach" clients (defined as a conventional criminal from the lower socioeconomic class),[12] although ultimate case responsibility remained with two project supervisors.

Phase II of the demonstration project was a continuation year (November 1971 through October 1972) undertaken to provide an opportunity for further evaluation of the use of paraprofessionals in probation supervision, and to serve as a mechanism through which a permanent paraprofessional position might be established in the federal probation system.[13] Phase II involved twelve of the aides who participated in Phase I, eight working part-time and four working full-time. The full-time aides were assigned caseloads of fifteen to twenty-five hard-to-reach clients, compared to eighty to 120 cases assigned to regular officers. The part-time aides continued with one to three clients. From time to time, the paraprofessionals were asked to perform some investigative tasks such as obtaining arrest records and court dispositions needed for presentence investigation reports being prepared by professional officers.

At the conclusion of the continuation year of the project, professional officers were asked to specify responsibilities which they thought should be reserved exclusively for professionals. Two of the professional officers said that final decisions about warrants, revocations, sentencing and other recommendations to the court should be made only by professional officers. Ten officers said that initial and presentence interviews and reports should be handled exclusively by professionals. They reasoned that professionals are better able to assess a client, having the background in social work or psychology and the frame of reference necessary to put the information into a logical report. Six officers declined to answer this question on the grounds that a meaningful response depended on the experience and training of the individual paraprofessional.

Project Jaguar conducted in Philadelphia, beginning in July 1973 involved six ex-offenders to be used as probation officer aides. It was originally intended that each aide would be assigned a small caseload of high-risk clients. In one of the units there was some departure from this plan and the aides received a caseload containing a far more representative and less risky sample of clients. In the other two units, however, there was strict adherence to the project proposal with the result that the aides' caseloads contained cases of exceptional difficulty and risk of recidivism. There were slightly over one hundred clients assigned to the aides, with more than two-thirds falling into this high risk category. Caseload size ranged from about twelve to twenty-five with the lower figure usually representing cases assigned the most recently hired aide.[14]

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Minority Probation Aides, Yolo County, California (1971) involved two Mexican-American probation aides, each indigenous to the locale. The probation staff searched departmental records for all current probationers with Spanish surnames. This group was divided into two eligibility pools; adult and juvenile. All names for each pool were placed in a hat and drawn randomly --five adults and fifteen juveniles--for each of the case aides. All others, whose names were left in the hat, constituted a control group of persons who would not receive special services.[15]

Effectiveness of Paraprofessionals

These three projects, described above, reflect the differences in type and size of caseloads. Each probation office attempted to use the paraprofessionals to meet its specific need. Project Jaguar also looked at the effects on recidivism at several different intervals. Recividism was simply defined as re-arrest without mentioning disposition of the cases. After six weeks the evaluators looked at the current records. There was a slight difference at that time in the re-arrest rates for Jaguar (5.1 percent) and control clients (3.8 percent). The Jaguar aides had substantially more serious and risky cases and when controls were introduced for differences in caseload difficulty the difference in re-arrest rates disappeared.

At three and one-half months the records were once again examined. Total violation rates were again somewhat higher for Jaguar caseloads (14.5 percent) than for control cases (9.6 percent) due to the difficulty in cases. When control was introduced for "degree of supervision required," an interesting finding emerged. For cases requiring minimal and moderate supervision there was no significant difference between the Jaguar and control groups. For cases requiring intensive supervision, however, there was a slight but significant difference between the groups, as 17.5 percent of the Jaguar cases were violators versus 24 percent of the control cases.

In order to analyze the data further, the evaluator broke the total violation rate into two components: (a) arrests for new crimes, and (b) technical violations and delinquencies. There was no significant difference between the two groups in the rates of new arrests. Among non-Jaguar cases there was a 5.2 percent arrest rate compared with an 11.3 percent arrest rate for Jaguar cases. For cases of equal difficulty, however, all group differences vanished. Jaguar aides appeared to be as able, but no more able, than their professional counterparts when it came to residual recidivism.

The situation was somewhat different for technical violations and failures to report. Here, the Jaguar aides displayed a marked advantage in dealing with intensive supervision cases (3.2 percent versus 12 percent). However, because of the small sample size, statistical significance of this relationship could not be assessed.[16] If this relationship is statistically significant, it could be because the Jaguar aide, through greater rapport and frequency of contact, is better able to retain clients than the professionals. It is also possible that the Jaguar aides are simply under-reporting client violations relative to the probation officers. It is also very important to point out that the caseloads were much smaller for the aides, therefore giving them much more time and opportunity to meet with clients.

POCA, Phase I involved fifty-two part-time indigenous paraprofessionals. The central goal of Phase I was to discover whether the indigenous paraprofessional could perform effectively as a rehabilitative agent in probation. The evaluator chose two types of criteria to measure the effectiveness of Phase I; recidivism rates and "social adjustment." The objective was not to "prove" the indigenous worker was more effective than the professional, but to determine whether the indigenous worker, under certain circumstances and with certain clients, may be as effective as the professional.

Recidivism for the study was defined as new arrest. Because recidivism data were gathered only seven months after the close of Phase I, it was impossible to rely on new convictions, since in most cases the dispositions were still pending. The data revealed marked similarities between experimental and controls. Both the experimental and control groups had a 36 percent recidivism rate (one or more offenses), a majority (16 percent experimental, 15 percent control) of clients who were arrested having had only one arrest. The evaluator looked at seriousness of the new offenses, categorizing them as: (1) personal, (2) property, (3) self, and (4) public nuisance. The distribution of types of offenses was virtually identical for experimental and controls.

It is difficult to interpret findings based on incomplete data. There is, however, some room for speculation. Probation Officer Aides (POA) had far more community contacts with their experimental clients than did officers with their control clients. Accordingly, it became common practice for POA's to accompany their clients to court and frequently to speak on their behalf. Almost without exception, when an experimental client was arrested, his POA contacted law enforcement authorities to ascertain the specific nature of the charges. Later, he accompanied the client to court. The POA's appearance in court appears to have had an important impact on judges. Speaking on behalf of the client, POA's explained to the court that the client was under close, federal supervision. Most POA's and the project supervisors became convinced after a number of such appearances that the effect was highly beneficial from two standpoints. First, it presented clear evidence to the client that the POA was on his side, and second, it reassured the local courts that even if they dismissed the case, the client would remain under close supervision. In contrast, heavy caseloads and excessive time demands make such court appearances difficult, if not impossible for most professional officers.

POA's were initially slow at contacting law enforcement officials and making court appearances. It took some time for them to become familiar with the criminal justice system, at least from "a friend of the court" viewpoint, and to feel comfortable with this new and often quite alien function. Not surprisingly then, no difference exists between convictions of experimentals and controls for first arrests. By the time second and third arrests occurred, POA's were more actively and aggressively intervening on their client's behalf. Apparently the impact of this activity was considerable because only 37 percent of the experimental second and third new arrest dispositions resulted in convictions while 87 percent of the control dispositions were convictions.[17]

The experimental and control recidivists did not significantly differ in the length of time which elapsed between beginning of community supervision and first new arrest. A slightly larger proportion of experimental recidivists (59 percent) were arrested within the first six months of supervision than were control recidivists (50 percent). The tendency for experimental clients to get into trouble early may have been partially due to the POA's initial struggle with authority and their confusion over unclear supervision goals. Another possiblity is that, until the POA's gain more experience, they are far more lenient and permissive than professionals.

The use of social adjustment as an outcome measure was based on the assumption that improvement of the quality of life (as the client views it) is an important element in rehabilitation. Social adjustment implied a degree of maturity in the client's ability to confront life's problems and responsibilities. In the POCA study the concept of social adjustment was operationalized along a number of important dimensions of living: marital and family life, employment, housing, community involvement, and leisure-time activities. Data were also gathered about the nature of the client's relationship with his POA or officer The following results are excerpted from the Probation Officer Case Aide Project, Phase I.[18]

Marital and Family Life: Data were very difficult to gather concerning the client's relationship with his wife.The data that were collected showed no differences between the experimentals and controls regarding changes in level of satisfaction with marital situation. There is also no evidence that either officers or POA's were very successful in ameliorating unsatisfactory relationships. Data were also difficult to gather concerning the client's performance in the parental role. It appears that neither POA nor officers had much of an impact on the client as a parent in general.

Employment: Both POA's and officers were more familiar with their clients' employment situation than any other area of social functioning. Significantly though, while POA's were able to report on 88 percent of the experiments, officers could only account for 65 percent of their clients. Perhaps the POA's were better informed about important aspects of their clients' lives than the professionals. At the end of the project, the experimental and control groups presented roughly equivalent employment situations. Seventy-three percent of the experimentals and 76 percent of the controls were employed.

Housing: Frequency in changes of residence during the project was about the same for each group. Approximately 60 percent remained at one residence, 33 percent moved two or three times, and 7 percent four or more times. In the majority of cases, housing was judged to be at least adequate. Only 9 percent of the controls and 15 percent of the experimentals were judged to living in clearly adequate housing. Apparently, however, inadequate housing was rarely considered a primary problem by either POA's or officers. Neither spent much time or effort attempting to help clients living in inadequate housing to improve this aspect of their lives.

Community Involvement and Use of Leisure Time: Neither the experimentals nor controls were very active in religious or community affairs. The vast majority of clients in both groups shunned formally organized leisure time activities. For the most part, non-work time was spent at home with the family or "on the street" with friends. POA's and officers reported improper use of leisure time in less than 10 percent of their respective caseloads. Spending inordinate amounts of time on the street or in taverns and associating with "undesirable characters" were the most common examples given for improper use of leisure time. In almost all such instances, POA's or officers had at least spoken to their clients about this perceived impropriety. There is no indication in either group that such interventions had any ameliorative impact.

Relationship Between Clients and Officers or POA's: Most clients and POA's or officers were asked to describe the nature of their relationship with one another and how it changed, if at all, over time. At the beginning and end of the project, clients were asked to specify whether they perceived their POA's or officers as a: (1) snooper/busybody, (2) law enforcer, (3) helper with problems, or (4) friend. (For analysis, the categories of snooper/busybody and law enforcer were subsequently considered together, as were helper with problems and friend. Clients drew virtually no distinctions within these two sets of categories.) Similarly, POA's and officers were asked which category they thought most accurately described how their clients perceived them. There was far less agreement on these judgments between clients and POA's.

Two-thirds of the interviewed experimentals said that they considered their POA a helper with problems or friend in the beginning. This figure changed to 88 percent in the end, an increase of 21 percent. In the beginning, POA's said only 41 percent of their clients saw them as a helper or friend, but by the end 85 percent made that judgment, which was very close to the clients' view. Control clients, in contrast, had a greater tendency to view their officers as helper or friend from the start (85 percent). Surprisingly, officers failed to recognize this. In less than one-half of their cases, the officers initially believed they were seen as a helper or friend. In the end, officers said only 57 percent of their clients considered them a helper or friend. Thus, while the vast majority of clients in both groups perceived their POA or officer as a helper or friend by the end of the project, POA's appear to have been much more aware of their clients' basic perception of them.

Twenty-four percent of the experimentals indicated their perception of their POA improved (that is, from snooper, busybody or law enforcer to helper or friend) from beginning to end of project. This compares with only 12 percent of the controls who described such a shift over time. Apparently, POA's, in their enthsiasm and with newly acquired official authority, were more likely to come on strong during initial contacts with clients. As they worked with their clients over time, their helping function was more readily perceived.

POA's and officers were asked to describe the clients' mode of relating to them, both initially and at the end of the project. Forty-three percent of the controls were described as "cautious and factual" in their encounters with officers. This group declined in size to 30 percent by termination. Initially, only 35 percent of the experimentals were placed in this category, and a decline to 7 percent was reported by termination. Officers found 22 percent of the controls "open and direct" initially, and reported an increase to 47 percent by the end. POA's classified 31 percent as "open and direct" with a startling increase to 71 percent at the conclusion of supervision. Both officers and POA's found a few clients "dependent and over-conforming" both at beginning and end.

Fifteen percent of the controls were said to be "resistive and evasive" at the beginning and 13 percent at the end. Initially, 21 percent of the experimentals were placed in this group, but the figure declined to 11 percent by termination. The experimental clients here may have been displaying some initial resentment over not having been assigned a "regular" probation officer. Both POA's and officers found a few clients "challenging and manipulative" initially, with only a slight decline for each group at the end.

Thus, considerable shifting in the manner in which clients related to their POA's or officers was reported between the beginning and end. In general, both experimentals and controls became far less cautious and resistive, and much more open and direct as time passed. Remarkably, almost three-quarters of the experimentals (compared with less than one-half of the controls) were judged as having an open and direct relationship with their POA. Presumably the greater proximity (both geographically and socio-culturally) and the far more numerous client contacts enjoyed the POA's contributed to this outcome.

The most common form of help given to clients in both groups by POA's and officers was advice, especially about employment. Apparently, this was well received. In each group, the vast majority of clients (approximately 90 percent) reported that their POA's or officers had been at least somewhat helpful. Again, it was in the area of job counseling and referral that most help was given. Only 2 percent of the clients in each group rated their POA or officer as clearly unhelpful. All clients expressed a surprising degree of confidence in POA or officers' ability to understand and help them with their problems. Initially, 73 percent of the experimentals and 90 percent of the controls said they believed that their POA or officer understood their problems. By termination, 90 percent of both groups shared this belief and to a large measure they put it into practice. Just under one-half of experimentals and controls reported that at some time during their period of supervision they received POA or officer help with a personal problem.

Overall Social Adjustment: POA's, officers, project supervisors, and research judges were asked to make an assessment of each client's overall social adjustment at termination. The experimentals received somewhat better ratings. Sixty percent had made an adequate social adjustment compared with 50 percent of the controls. Experimentals with a clearly inadequate social adjustment were slightly more numerous than controls. The largest difference between the two research groups was for clients who had made neither a clearly adequate nor inadequate social adjustment. Nearly one-third of the controls were found to be operating on a marginal basis, compared with less than one-fifth of the experimentals.

Conclusion: Examination of recidivism measures and social adjustment ratings reveal almost identical outcome patterns for each research group centered around the nature of the interaction which occurred between client and POA or officers. The far greater frequency and regularity of contact between client and POA appears to have paid off in helping relationships characterized by openness and directness. It appears from the study that the employment of indigenous paraprofessionals in federal probation is operationally feasible and represents a promising adjunct to professional correctional supervision.

During Phase II of POCA, sixteen POA's were employed, twelve of whom were part-time and four were full-time. Only eight part-time POA's were employed at any one time. Phase II was not evaluated in the same manner as Phase I, but rather new areas of effectiveness were discussed. These included:

(1) The use of POA's randomly assigned to probation officers.

(2) The nature of supervisory/investigative tasks which could be managed by POA's.

(3) How effectively officers and POA's operate as a service delivery team.

(4) How officers respond to the use of POA's.

(5) The relative advantages and disadvantages of using various types of POA's, e.g., full-time versus part-time.

(6) How clients respond to the use of POA's.

(1) Use of the POA's

It is evident from the data that POA's both full- and part-time, were used extensively. The numbers of recorded contacts were essentially the same for the four full-time men and the eight part-time men. However, in terms of man-hours per week, the two groups were dissimilar (160 man hours per week for the full-time men and 112 for the part-time men.) Tasks assigned to POA's lacked variation; 8.7 percent of assignments for full-time POA's and 3.5 percent for part-time POA's were investigative; virtually none were for the purpose of developing resources in the community. Even the tasks indicated as "investigative," are questionable, since they involved securing routine information. Supervision tasks were assigned to full-time POA's 88.9 percent of the time and to part-time POA's 96.5 percent of the time.

(2) Performance Evaluation

Given the tasks assigned, POA's, as rated by the probation officers, functioned effectively. With regard to part-time POA's, for example, officers rated the results of 85 percent of the contacts, and POA's performance in 92 percent of the contacts as very satisfactory or satisfactory.

Satisfaction with POA's performance was indicated in several questions on the officers' interview, as well as the client interview. Given the satisfactory performance and an indication by the majority of officers that POA's contributed to the office, the question must be asked as to why POA's were not given a wider range of tasks. One possible explanation is that with each new task, additional demands are made on the officer in terms of training and supervision. The time required to supervise the POA was a constant complaint by officers.

(3) Effectiveness of Teams

The teams varied considerably in the types of assignments received and the number completed. A preliminary attempt to evaluate the reasons for this difference suggested that a significant variable was the clarity of the officer's training of the POA. This variable should probably be investigated in further future research. Means which foster the development of explicit training procedures, including the criteria for evaluation of tasks, should be encouraged in future projects.

(4) Response of Officers to POA's

With regard to the functioning of POA's, probation officers, in general, gave them a satisfactory rating. However, other areas, for example, attitudes of officers about the use of POA's, require further exploration.

Only one of the officers interviewed stated that he considered the POA's to be a threat to his position. In contrast, of the POA's interviewed, seven reported sensing some resentment among professional staff members. However, four reported a change in a positive direction. Interestingly, when officers were asked about the opinions of other officers and staff, they attributed considerably more negativism to other staff than they admitted having themselves. However, they futher suggested that a change in a positive direction was noted as officers worked with POA's.

(5) Difference Between POA Groups: Full-time Versus Part-time

As has been indicated above, the two groups of POA's do not differ significantly in the number of contacts, nor apparently in the type of contacts, although full-time POA's were assigned slightly more investigative tasks.

Consequently, what must be ascertained is the function most appropriately served by POA's for an individual office. Both full-time and part-time people were extremely useful, but each as a group was somewhat different. Full-time POA's appeared to be identifying much more with office and officers. Given the closeness with the office, they were easier to supervise. In contrast, part-time POA's raised fewer status problems. They provided a useful service in that they were a readily accessible extension of the officer in the community. However, it was more difficult to supervise them; even assignment of tasks was more problematic. It must be added that the majority of the officers favored the hiring of full-time rather than part-time POA's.

With regard to other characteristics, the majority of officers did not object to the use of aides, but only a small number saw the hiring of ex-offenders as having any particular advantages. Also, when asked if the background of POA's and clients should be similar, only a small number of officers favored this practice.

(6) Client's Response

The response of clients to POA's was somewhat difficult to gauge. Clients who worked with both officers and POA's were not able to specify distinct differences between them, except that the POA's are "easier to talk to." However, a large percentage would prefer to work with POA's and would rather have a POA go to court with them. Of course, one could question whether the reason is that POA's are more easily manipulated. This assumption is questionable. The reason for this preference may be the close personal contact and the relationship between client and POA. Clients suggested that POA's were more personally concerned and involved. However, many clients stated there was no similarity between POA's and themselves, despite their preference for POA's in many areas of functioning.[19]

In general, this effort to use paraprofessionals in a correctional setting proved to be quite successful, from the viewpoint of various individuals. However, this project was to serve primarily as a pilot study to test, in an applied manner, the way POA's would be used when more or less randomly assigned to various officers. Since the inception of Phase I, the POA has become a regular staff position and was introduced in various district offices.

The Minority Probation Aides project in Yolo County, California, involved only two Mexican-American aides, each indigenous to the locale. Since there were only two aides it is very difficult to compare groups, however the project had three goals established and an attempt was made to determine the success in meeting these goals. The first project goal was the improvement of probation services to the Mexican-American community.

Each aide was given a juvenile group and an adult group. In treatment of juvenile offenders, the aides were at least as successful as regular probation officers. The adult group did significantly better, however, because of the small number of adults in the experimental group (fifteen) it is difficult to attribute the successful results to the project.

Contact between case aides and clients was reported to be high, with most services to probation officers falling into the consultation and interpreter categories. A clear majority (89 percent) of the officers polled stated they felt the case aides generally had been very effective. Just over one-half (57 percent) of the public agency personnel opinions were that the functioning of the case aides had helped them to understand better the problems of Mexican-Americans with whom they come in contact.

The second goal was to increase the probation staff's awareness of the needs of the Mexican-American community. Responses from probation officers indicated contact between officers and case aides was high. This would be conducive to informal transmission of Mexican-American community needs. Fifty-eight percent (nineteen) of the officers stated that the functioning of the case aides within the department helped them to understand better the problems of Mexican-American probationers whom they were supervising. It appears, then that the second goal has been met.

The third goal was to accomplish a vocational upgrading of case aides to full deputy probation officers within the three year period of project operation. The project was funded from January, 1971, through December, 1973. On July 1, 1973, the two case aides became full deputy probation officers. It appears that all three of the project goals were met, however the size and scope of the project made it very difficult to generalize to other situations.[20]

The Probation Aide Program in Nassau County, New York, was implemented in October 1970 to increase the amount of services available to the offender population and to make the services to probationers more effective through interaction between aides and probationers.

Aides were indigenous to the locale with a selected number currently on probation. The aides were given six weeks of training and assigned one of the following tasks:

1. Assist a probation officer and participate in a range of tasks.
2. Assist with reception and other routine duties at intake.
3. Assist the probation officer during the investigatory procedure.
4. Assist with tutoring on a one-to-one basis.
5. Act as a big brother or big sister in a cultural enrichment program.
6. Assist in group activities led by the probation officer.
7. Assist in other appropriate areas.
8. Assist in determining the whereabouts of missing offenders.
9. At the request of a probation officer, an aide will participate in group sessions.
10. Several senior aides will be assigned to various community agencies to provide effective coordination of services.

The findings of the study included:

1. From a statistical standpoint, the levels of success (recidivism, number of probation contacts, and successful treatment plans) were to be most successful in the Family Division and least successful in the Narcotics Division.
2. From a cost standpoint, they found the aide program to be more expensive than the traditional probation approach without aides.
3. The administration of the program appeared to be generally excellent and with few exceptions met the grant requirements.
4. While the assignment of aides to a number of agency units and community facilities permitted broader assessment of their effectiveness, it also spread them too thin for the development of a supportive, cohesive peer group of aides.
5. The absence of a full-time entry level aide position discouraged many qualified applicants and contributed significantly to the project's high turnover rate.
6. It also appears that the objectives were already stated and communicated and that the aides were performing the required duties as stated in the project proposal.

In all there were fifteen recommendations made by the evaluation. These recommendations point out some of the flaws in the Nassau Project that can be avoided. Briefly, they are as follows:

1. The probation aide project should be continued by the Nassau County Probation Department.

2. Selection of aides should be geared toward recruiting more "high risk" prospects from the community.

3. The creation of a trainee role for college students should be considered.

4. The training program should be modified to meet the needs of the aides.

5. Research and evaluation should be established as an on-going responsibility of project administration.

6. A project planning committee should be organized.

7. All new aides and officers assigned aides for the first time should receive basic training for their new roles and responsibilities.

8. Consideration should be given to locating the Probation Aide Project organizationally in one of the agency's line operations rather than the Staff Development and Research Unit.

9. Groups or teams of aides working under the supervision of one or two officers should be tried as a service-expanding, cost-saving alternative to the one-aide, one-officer model.

10. Officers who are assigned as aide supervisors should receive training in supervision and management.

11. The ten-month discharge criteria used in selecting former probationers as aides should be discarded.

12. Every possible effort should be made to avoid situations in which the confidentiality of records or the trust of the agency is violated.

13. Positions for both full- and part-time aides should be available at the level of entry.

14. The senior aide position should be maintained as a means of conferring reward for effective performance.

15. Disagreements over issues should be purposefully and widely aired among agency personnel.[21]

While not directly involving probation we feel it would be beneficial to mention the results of the Parole Officer Aide Program in Ohio, an Exemplary Project. The Adult Parole Authority of the Ohio Department of Rehabilitation and Correction, in September of 1972, implemented a program designated as the Parole Officer Aide Program, using ex-offenders as quasi-parole officers. The goals of the POA project were to bridge the gap between the APA and parolees; to facilitate communication between corrections, the community, and the state; to engender trust and confidence in the correctional system; to decrease recidivism; and to reduce parole violations.

The use of ex-offenders to aid and assist with probationers or parolees is not unique to Ohio, however two things were relatively novel. First, the authority, power, and trust given ex-offenders hired as aides were unique. Although the aides did not have the total autonomy of parole officers, they did have their own caseloads for which they were primarily responsible. Second, the desire and commitment of the Ohio Adult Parole Authority to objectively evaluate the effectiveness of the program was exceptional. In these and other respects, the Ohio Adult Parole Authority is capitalizing on the resources of ex-offenders and evaluating their effectiveness more extensively than have other states to date.

In evaluating the twenty-three parole officer aides employed by the State of Ohio during the first two years of the project, their performance in comparison to a control group of parole officers has been deemed equally effective. As a result, the Ohio Adult Parole Authority hired additional aides and broadened their responsibilities. The third year evaluation found very similar benefits.

The research technique employed in evaluating the effectiveness of the parole officer aides included a variety of approaches. The first technique utilized was the measurement of aides' and parole officers' attitudes on several dimensions as being associated with successful social service-type workers. The results of this measurement indicated that aides have the qualities, attitudes, and orientations generally associated with successful social service workers. More similarities than differences were found between aides and parole officers on these various attitudinal indicators, as well as in their attitudes toward law and order.

The third approach followed in evaluating the program was the use of students as field observers. The students reported no difference in the number of parolees seen on the average by the various parole officers and parole officer aides. Similarly, no differences were observed in the percentage of time spent with parolees. Also, parole officers' and parole officer aides' relationships with fellow workers were rated equal, but aides were evaluated as having somewhat better relations with their parolees than did parole officers.

Unit supervisors rated parole officers and aides on several dimensions as a fourth technique in evaluating the program. Their ratings indicated that in most respects parole officers were much superior to aides. Supervisors in 1973 rated parole officer aides better in getting parolees jobs and "putting themselves out." However, in 1974, supervisors rated parole officers superior on every indicator. This is apparently a reflection of the type of aides hired during the second year of the program.

In 1975, aides were rated superior on about half the dimensions. In comparing supervisors' ratings of aides according to length of employment, those hired during the first year in comparison to the second year of the program were rated higher on every dimension. In fact, if supervisors' ratings for parole officer aides hired during the 1972-1973 program year were compared to parole officers, there was very little difference between the two groups. Aides were rated somewhat better in relating, helping, and getting parolees jobs in 1974, while parole officers are rated higher in motivating parolees and considerably better at report-writing. Overall, however, supervisors in whose units aides worked were very enthusiastic about the Parole Officer Aide Program. Several supervisors indicated they had grave doubts about the program at its inception, but they now felt it was the best new program to have ever come out of the Adult Parole Authority and that it should certainly be expanded.

The fifth indicator in assessing the desirability of the ex-offender program was to ascertain inmates' attitudes toward such an innovation. Inmates surveyed at Ohio's penal institutions were very much in favor of the Parole Officer Aide Program. The majority of inmates felt parolees supervised by an aide would be more likely to succeed on parole. An overwhelming majority of inmates indicated they would prefer being supervised by an aide rather than a parole officer. Surprisingly, although the program had been in effect for two years in 1974, fewer than 50 percent of the inmates were aware of the program.

A sixth approach used in the evaluation was to contact the parolees supervised by parole officers and parole officer aides to determine their opinion of the help and support they were receiving. The parolees surveyed, who were under the supervision of either an aide or a parole officer, rated parole officer aides superior on every indicator in 1973, and rated parole officers somewhat better than parole officer aides in 1974. Parole officer aides in 1973 were rated more trustworthy, more concerned, more helpful in finding jobs, more understanding, easier to talk with, and easier to find when needed by parolees than were parole officers. Such was not the case in 1974, when all parole officer aides were simply compared to the control group of parole officers.

The reason for such differing results seemed to rest with the type of parole officer aide chosen. The 1973 program evaluation mentioned that the aides' smaller caseload might be responsible for the more positive ratings parole officer aides received from parolees. This explanation now seems somewhat less than accurate. A more rational explanation might simply be that aides, carefully chosen, can be a real asset to the Adult Parole Authority's service. However, being an ex-offender is no guarantee that an individual will make a good parole officer or aide. Consequently, careful screening of applicants should be used in the future in order to assure the program's success.

A seventh approach in assessing the ex-offender program was a national survey of State Directors of Corrections. This survey documented the growing trend of utilizing ex-offenders in corrections as support personnel. The majority of directors favored using ex-offenders as parole officers or aides, but only Ohio and Pennsylvania have actually implemented programs where a sizeable number of such ex-offenders were employed.

The recidivism (failure) rates for aides' and parole officers' caseloads, measured in 1974, indicated that those clients supervised by aides had significantly fewer failures in every category than did clients of parole officers. The aides' failure rate was 6.32 percent, while the parole officers' was 10.27 percent.[22] The difference was found to be statistically significant at the .01 level.

Overall, Ohio's Parole Officer Aide Program has been given positive, often superlative, ratings from almost everyone associated with it, including the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. The aides have performed well in their employment and have received outstanding praise and acknowledgement for their contribution to the field of corrections. The evaluators strongly recommended that the program be continued and adopted in other states.

This section serves not only as a review of the literature, but also as a helping tool for those wishing to implement a paraprofessional program. We have attempted to address the underlying issues of the use of paraprofessionals in probation with special emphasis on organization. It is apparent from the research that has been done so far that many unforseen problems arise when implementing a paraprofessional program. We have attempted to cite some of the more common problems and some possible solutions.

While we have attempted to answer some of the questions, many still remain unanswered. For example, when does a paraprofessional lose those qualities that make him special, and when, and under what conditions should he enter the promotional track? We have had some difficulty in determining the best model for utilizing the paraprofessional: should they be employed in teams, as individuals, or perhaps a combination of some sort? While evidence exists that the paraprofessional can be utilized and incorporated into a probation department we still have no true cost-benefit, cost-effectiveness evaluations. This should be a high priority goal, since all necessary efforts should be made to substantiate the dollar cost and effectiveness of these programs.

Lastly, we have not proven conclusively that paraprofessionals are more successful, however, research appears to point out the fact that many times they are as successful as probation officers, perhaps even more so with high risk probationers.

In the beginning of the section we cited some common rationales for the use of paraprofessionals. They are as follows: (1) there is a large pool of untrained unemployed nonprofessionals from which to recruit, (2) it is possible to train nonprofessionals to perform significant reform roles, and (3) it would be economically efficient to use paraprofessionals in the reformation process. It appears that there is still a large pool of untrained, unemployed non-professionals from which to recruit, however, the limited use of paraprofessionals has not had an appreciable effect upon providing needed manpower to probation.

While it appears that it is possible to train nonprofessionals, there is still the question of what roles they should play and how effective they truly are. Finally, it has not been proven that it is economically efficient to use paraprofessionals and until it is, this rationale is simply speculation.

FOOTNOTES
CHAPTER V

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[13] Gregory Witkowski, Ellen Ryan Rest, George J. Busiel, Probation Officer Case Aide Project: Final Report Phase II, (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago, Law School, Center for Studies in Criminal Justice, n.d.) pp. 1-9.

[14] Buffum, ibid., pp. 1-2.

[15] Langbehn, Pasela and Venezia, ibid., pp. 1-7.

[16] Buffum, ibid., pp. 8-15.

[17] Beless and Rest, ibid., pp. 141-165.

[18] Ibid., pp. 167-177.

[19] Witkowski, Rest and Busiel ibid., pp. 182-190.

[20] Langbehn, Pasela and Venezia, ibid., pp. 47-48.

[21] Richard H. Ward, Carl Wiedemann, Jayne Feeley, and Don Richtberg, Probation Aide Project Nassau County Department of Probation: Final Report Phase II (Mineola, New York: Nassau County Department of Probation, April 1974) pp. 6-9.

[22] Ramon Priestino and Harry E. Allen, The Parole Officer Aide Program In Ohio: An Exemplary Project (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, Program for the Study of Crime and Delinquency, December 1975) pp. 137-140.

CHAPTER VI

THE USE OF VOLUNTEERS IN PROBATION

Introducton

Probation in the United States began with volunteers. Now, after many years of avoidance, our system seems to have embraced them once again. From the early 1900's until 1960 one would have been hard pressed to find a volunteer-in-probation type program operating anywhere in the United States. In 1960, Judge Keith Leenhouts of the Royal Oak, Michigan Municipal Court resurrected the concept, and the idea has grown rapidly since. Recent estimates report that some 300,000 volunteers now serve 2,000 jurisdictions while contributing over 20,000,000 hours of service per year.[1] Others place the figure at 500,000 volunteers serving 3,000 jurisdictions.[2] The evidence does indicate that the past fifteen or more years have seen a marked revitalization of the volunteer concept.

What can the community expect to derive from a volunteer-in-probation type project? Its proponents consider it to be one of the more promising innovations in the field, claiming that it can help alleviate the problem of excessive caseloads and contribute to rehabiltation and reintegration goals for the probationer. Volunteers' activities have been broken down into three areas of structural impacts: (1) Volunteer projects offer an amplification of probation services, (2) Volunteer projects offer a diversification of probation services, and (3) Volunteer projects offer additional support services.[3]

At the outset it should be noted that volunteer projects in total impact seem to present an amalgamation of advantage and disadvantage to the community as will be discussed in this section. Professional project management must be achieved to maximize advantages so that the disadvantages do not drive the project out of existence.

Scope of Services

Volunteer projects operate on the premise that certain types of probationers can be helped effectively by the services a volunteer can offer, and that such services can be provided at a minimal direct tax dollar cost. In general, the principle function of the volunteer is to supplement, not replace, probation officer efforts by providing individual specialized services to probationers.[4]

Amplification of Services

Scheier has suggested that one consider the probation officer who has one hour per month to spend with each client. He can either spend it directly with the probationer, where one hour of input leads to one hour of output, or supervise a volunteer who will spend ten to fifteen hours with the probationer, where one hour of input leads to ten to fifteen hours of output. A combination of the two systems seems to be the most logical, where the probation officer spends part of the time supervising the volunteer and part of his time in direct contact with the probationers. But these calculations do indicate an amplification factor, where for each hour of probation time invested, ten to fifteen hours of volunteer services are contributed to the probation system.[5]

Diversification of Services

By drawing upon the time, talents, and abilities of volunteers to assist in probation services, the probation officer can serve to broaden the nature of the services offered. Scheier, Director of the National Center of Volunteers in Courts, has reported that some 155 volunteer roles have actually been filled by volunteers in one court or another.

The community then contains a diverse supply of skills and can serve as a manpower resource. (See Appendix 6A)

Additional Support Services

In addition to the direct probation services offered, volunteers often assist the volunteer project in an administrative capacity. For example, the well-known Royal Oak, Michigan program has been supervised by a full time volunteer for quite some time.[6] The VISTO program in Los Angeles County (California) utilized volunteers to fill some of its clerical needs, such as handling supplies, Xeroxing, answering recruitment correspondence, and routine office contacts, as well as participating in program research projects.[7] There can be little doubt that volunteers in a probation framework can serve as a means of amplifying time, attention and type of services given to the probationer by the system.

Project Roles

The role of the chief administrator, who is often a volunteer is relatively constant from program to program. He is responsible for implementing policy, fiscal management, coordination of volunteer program activities with the court and the probation department, and generally overseeing the daily administration of the program. In some programs however, the chief administrator answers the role of fund raiser or program liaison and public relations director and delegates his authority to his administrative assistants.

The role of the administrative assistant differs widely from program to program. He may function as the de facto chief administrator, or may serve merely as a coordinator of operations or as an information dispenser. The second role may be more prevalent because administrative assistants are often volunteers with special administrative or public relations skills.

Relationship Models

The volunteers' relationship roles with the probationer can be classified into four categories:

(1) The 1:1 Model, where the volunteer, on a one-to-one basis seeks to obtain the trust and confidence of the probationer and helps him to maintain his existence, clarify his role in society, and plan for the future.

(2) The Supervision Model, where the volunteer who works as a case aid to a probation officer, provides services to a number of probationers.

(3) The Professional Model, where the volunteer, who is a professional or semi-professional in his field, provides special services to a number of probationers.

(4) The Administrative Model, where the volunteer assists with the project administrative functions and interacts only indirectly with the probationers.

While the very title "volunteer project" may imply that few costs are involved, this not the case. Although the volunteers themselves receive little or no remuneration for their efforts, nevertheless, recruiting, screening, training, matching, and supervising all involve a cost. To raise necesary funds, volunteer projects utilize four sources: (1) State government, (2) local government, (3) federal grants, (4) private donations. Most projects seek funds from single sources, however, the trend may be combinations of sources in order to assure their continued existence.

While twenty-one projects were reviewed in terms of funding sources, we could not be sure that the documents examined revealed the entire source of income. Twelve were apparently funded by the federal government, two received local dollars, nine received state dollars and three obtained private donations. Some 25 percent of the projects examined have sought financial support from combinations of sources, while 75 percent seem to look to one source for their sustenance.

A problem facing all projects is survival. When the grant expires or the private donations dry up, so does the project, unless the project administrators can obtain or renew financial support on the part of the government (be it federal, state, or local) and the private donors.

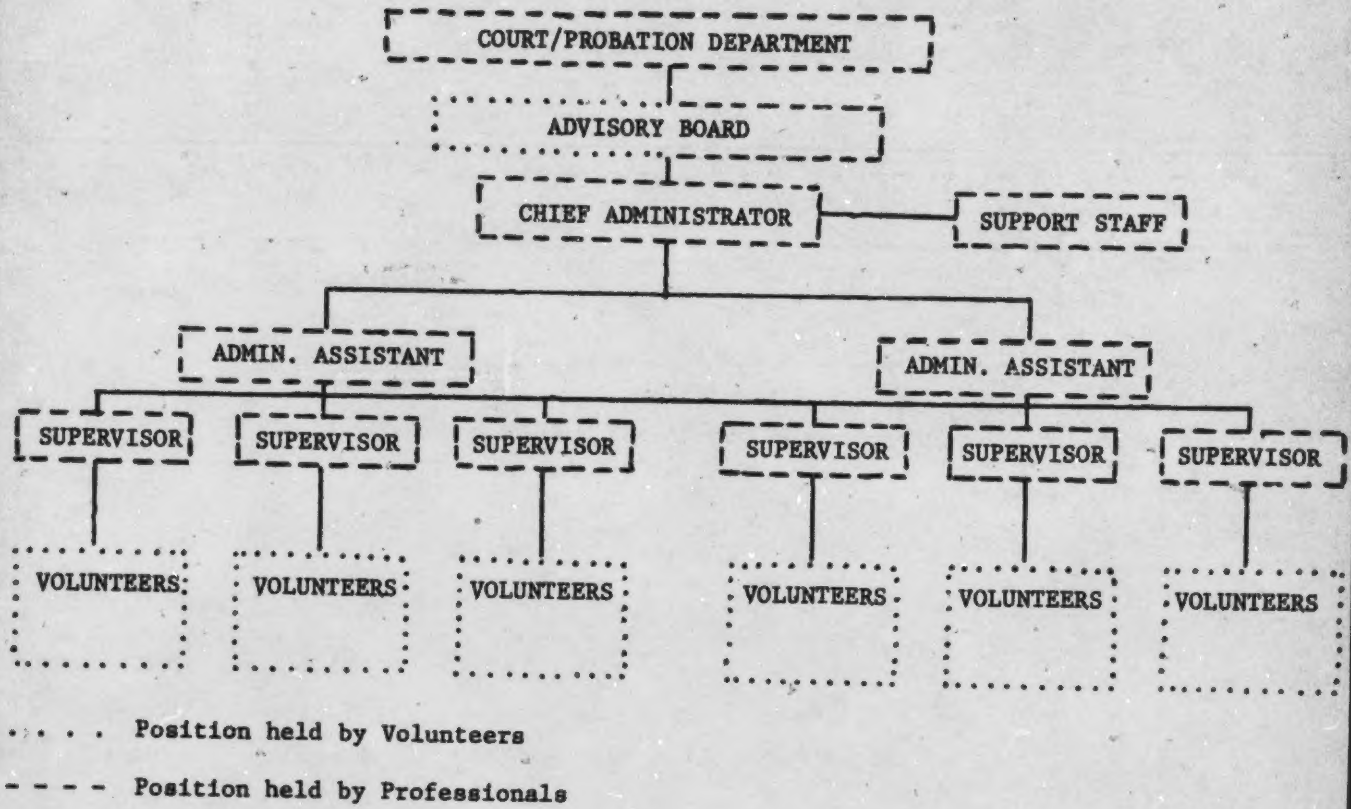
Organization

Most, though not all, volunteer projects are administered either through the local court or the probation department, even though they may be administratively staffed entirely with volunteers. The important fact is, however, that ultimate control is usually maintained by either the local court or the probation department. One notable exception to this generality is the State of Florida, where the volunteer project has been organized on a statewide, coordinated basis since 1968.[8] Generally speaking, however, volunteer projects can be categorized into one of three basic formats. The three figures below graphically illustrate these organizational styles. The differences are not so much within the structure of the organization, but rather in who fills the positions within the structure.

Figure 1 illustrates projects which are administered and controlled by a government unit, while Figure 3 illustrates a project which has little or no immediate formal administrative ties to a government unit. Figure 2 represents a close relative of the latter cases, with project positions being staffed by both volunteers and professionals, although the project itself has few formal government ties.

FIGURE 6.1

ORGANIZATION OF VIP PROGRAMS I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CHIEF ADMINISTRATOR
SUPPORT STAFF
ADMIN. ASSISTANT
ADMIN. ASSISTANT
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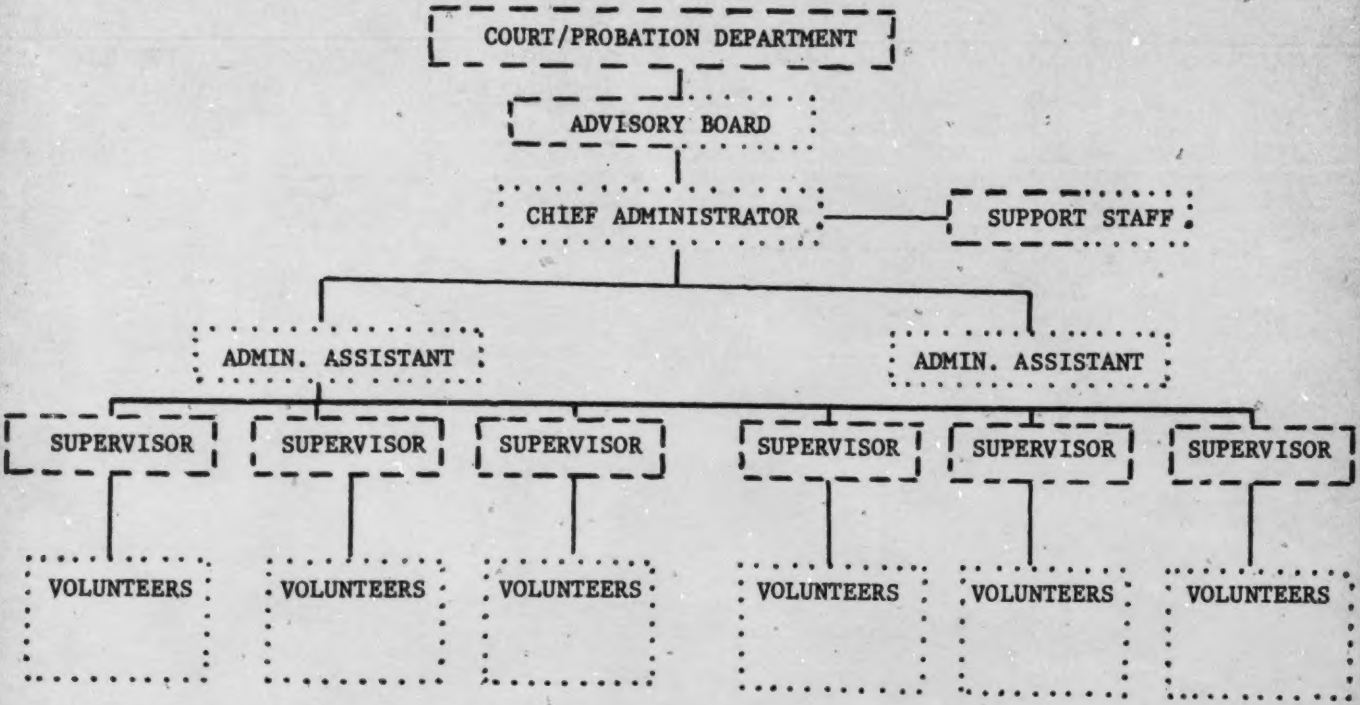
. . . . Position held by Volunteers
- - - - Position held by Professionals

FIGURE 6.2

ORGANIZATION OF VIP PROGRAMS II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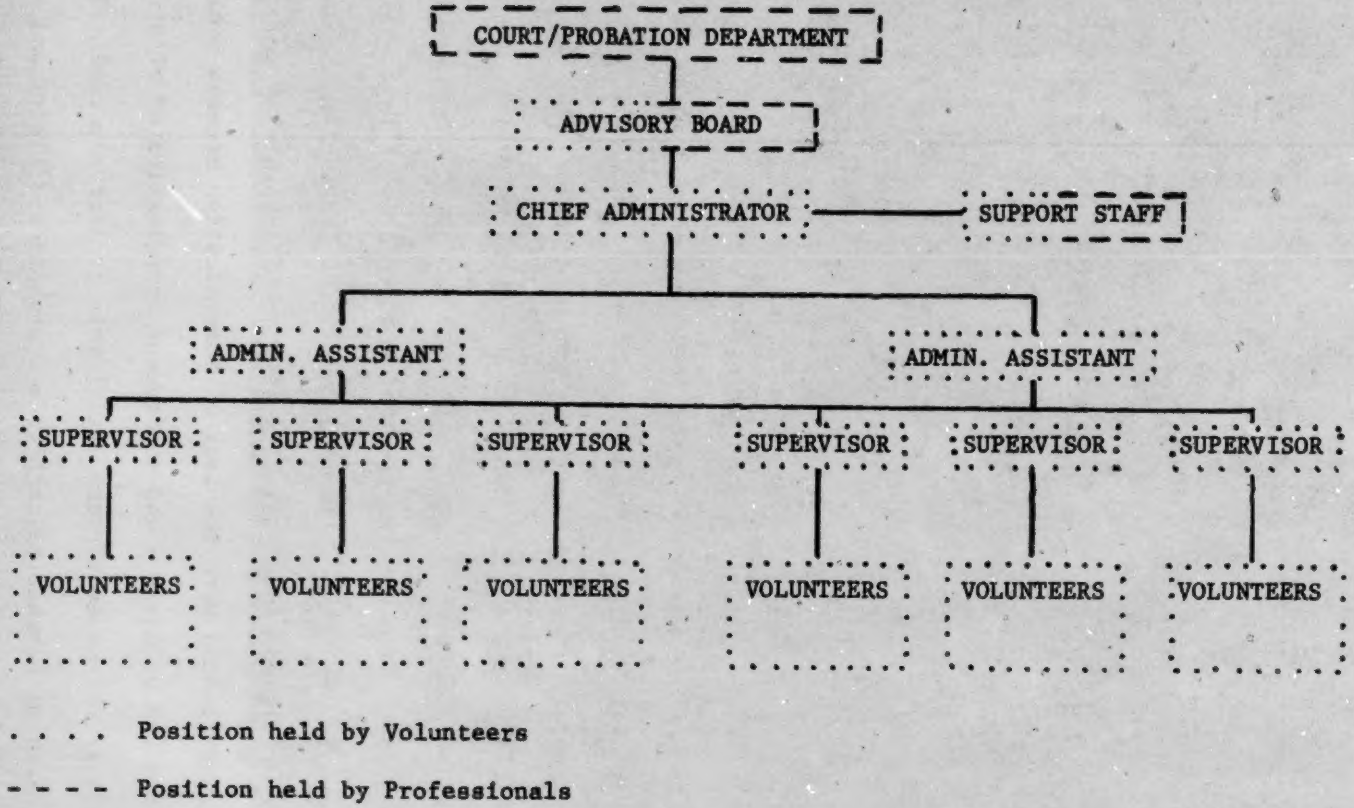
. . . . Position held by Volunteers

- - - - Position held by Professionals

FIGURE 6.3

ORGANIZATION OF VIP PROGRAMS III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VOLUNTEERS
VOLUNTEERS
. . . . Position held by Volunteers
- - - - Position held by Professionals

The nineteen projects which could be categorized in terms of organizational arrangement were distributed into the following classifications:

TABLE 6.1

ORGANIZATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

	Figure	# of Cases Observed	Relative Frequency
	1	14	73.7 %
	2	2	10.5
	3	3	15.8
TOTAL		19	100.0%

Operations

Lack of success in any given volunteer project seems to be a function of management operations rather than the volunteer concept. This observation surfaced again and again in the literature. For example, the 1975 Southfield Michigan[9] reported an abundance of potential volunteers and probationers, but the actual match rate was quite low due to operational inadequacies. The 1976 Indiana University study of fourteen volunteer projects in the State of Indiana concluded " the universal problem of project reviewed was a lack of good basic design."[10] The greatest problems being experienced were the lack of communication between probation officers and volunteers and subsequent coordination of efforts. The Summary of the Santa Barbara, California project reported a lack of communication between volunteers and probation officers and the lack of general managerial support as major drawbacks to the project operations.[11] These drawbacks were viewed in the context of operational problems and not as disparagement of the volunteer concept. The following section will review the essential operational components of an effective project.

Community Support

To operate as a viable entity, a volunteer project must obtain and maintain the support of the public at large, the media, local political officials, the local court, and the probation department.[12] Lack of support from any one of these components will jeopardize the existence of any volunteer project. Engaging in activities that serve to alleviate friction and promote cooperation and understanding is essential to the establishment and continued well-being of a volunteer project. It is not the purpose of this section to delve into the political ramifications of developing and maintaining a volunteer project in a community. Note however, that complex political realities do exist and must be dealt with in order to facilitate continued program stability. The activity is the very foundation of successful operations and continued project stability.

Recruitment

A successful volunteer program requires an adequate supply of volunteer workers. In general, it may be said that it is not difficult in most communities to attract a pool of qualified applications. Reports have generally shown today's volunteer to be successful, mature, and well educated.[13]

The 1976 Lincoln, Nebraska project reported that the mean age of its volunteers was 27 years, with 60 percent married and about 60 percent male.[14] The average educational level was a little over fourteen years. Over 90 percent of the volunteers expressed a religious affiliation. The project also reported that they have used volunteers from all walks of life and socio-economic levels in the community.

The 1974 Franklin County, Ohio project[15] reported volunteerism to be generally a middle-class phenomenon. The mean age of the volunteers was found to be almost thirty-two years, with almost 70 percent of the volunteers being males and more than 65 percent married. The average education rested in the "Some College" category. Two-thirds of the volunteers had had no prior experience in the criminal justice system.

The 1975 review of the Macomb County Michigan project[16] reported 60 percent of the volunteers were females, with the mean education level falling in the thirteen to fifteen years category and the mean age in the twenty-six to twenty-eight years range.

The 1972 review of the Anchorage, Alaska project[17] reported that 55 percent of the volunteers were males, 62 percent of the volunteers were married, and the average age was thirty years. The average education rested in the "Some College" category. Sixty-four percent reported that they they had done volunteer work before.

The 1976 Alameda County, California project [18] reported that 63 percent of its volunteers were females, and 68 percent of the volunteers were non-white. More than 50 percent had at least a bachelor's degree.

Churches and religious organizations are a prime source of volunteers, as are graduate and undergraduate students of a local university or college. Community service groups and professional organizations representing occupations, such as teachers, accountants, businessmen, and social workers have often been recruited. Many volunteers have been referred by program staff and court and probation department personnel. In particular, judges have served as excellent recruiters.[19] The volunteers project in Eugene, Oregon has found that most persons will volunteer their services if they are personally asked the question: "Will you please give the Juvenile Department a hand with a delinquent boy or girl who needs a friend?" [20]

Another widely-used source of volunteers is volunteer bureaus. These bureaus act as clearinghouses to which interested persons can apply as volunteers by stating their interests and preferences for the type of program with which they would like to work. The volunteer program then approaches the bureau with its particular needs, and a volunteer is matched with the program most suitable for him.

As a supplement to each of these sources, individual word-of-mouth has been an indispensible means of recruiting. Communication about a program among friends and acquaintances has and will continue to assure a solid source of volunteer applicants.

Distribution of promotional materials by way of the mail, the press, radio, and television are other means often undertaken. While the above-described sources are recruiting techniques aimed at selected individuals, these latter methods are an attempt to inform a large, public audience of the program. Such mass approaches are then followed by more personal interviews for discussions of the program and more selective screening.

Screening and Selection

A key element in a successful volunteer project is the care the program takes in screening applicants, and the opportunity afforded the applicants to screen the project. There are basically six methods used in this two-way screening process: the application form, the personal interview, letters of reference, police checks, self screening, and performance during training.

The application form itself can provide a wide variety of relevant information for administrative use. Nearly all volunteer programs personally interview potential volunteers. The interviews provide the applicant with more information about the program, while allowing the agency to determine if the applicant can work well in its particular program. Letters of reference provide an outsider's opinion of the applicant's ability to relate to and assist others.

Some projects require a pre-service training excerise for potential volunteers. A volunteer's training exercise performance is often reviewed and compared to a minimum standard. Those who fall below the standard are often released. Self-screening, when the applicant himself examines the program and his own capabilities, resources, and motivation and decides whether to make the commitment to be a volunteer is a vital element in the screening process. Applicants must be given the opportunity to screen a project also; then as Seiter points out, "he knows more precisely into what he is entering. Highly desirable persons can become disenchanted with a program that is not quite what they thought it would be, and become ineffective volunteers."[21] The screening and selection process, Seiter points out, then becomes a two-way street, as administrators seek information to make judgments on the selection of volunteers and as volunteers seek information to make a judgment on whether to become a volunteer in this specific program.

Some work has been done in an attempt to identify the most effective volunteer. A 1975 study conducted in Toronto, Canada by Pirs found housewives to be the most successful occupation category. Young volunteers were found to be just as successful as older volunteers. The study concluded that a wide variety of volunteers could be used without lowering the success rate of the project.[22]

Training

A significant aspect of any volunteer program is training. More than a desire to serve is needed to be effective in volunteer service.

A multitude of training techniques are utilized from project to project. Slide shows, movies, large and small group discussions, role playing, one-to-one discussions and lectures represent a few of the techniques. Training can be conveniently categorized in a time sequence, namely:

1. training prior to a case assignment
2. training subsequent to and concurrent with a case assignment.

The extensiveness of the training differs from project to project. The Macomb County, Michigan project requires some twenty-four hours of pre-case assignment instruction.[23] The Partners project in Alaska offers training, but not all volunteers participate.[24] The Jackson, Indiana Circuit Court projects reportedly offers no training at all to its volunteers.[25] Ninety percent of the studies reviewed offered at least some form of training to the volunteers. The remaining projects failed to discuss the training of their volunteers and thus, we are given no indication whether this is due to a lack of training or just a failure to mention its existence.

Volunteer program training sessions generally focus upon more general approaches in working with probationers rather than dealing with specific skill development. Emphasis is placed on what to expect from a relationship with a probationer and on an examination of volunteer reactions to certain situations. In addition, some time is usually spent in orienting the recruit to the program's purposes and procedures.

Matching

The basic principle of sound matching is to identify the important needs of the probationer and then to make a match with the volunteer who is most likely to make a significant contribution to meeting the needs of the probationer.

Most programs seem to have identified a set of matching criteria to effect this solid relationship. Elements generally considered are: sex, age, ethnic background, education, intelligence, occupation, community contacts, interests, socio-economic level, and counseling skills. As can be expected, the relative importance of each characteristic varies from project to project. The significance also varies within projects as different types of match relationships are sought.

We should note that a relationship model (discussed above) must be chosen that will best fulfill the probationer's needs. Following the selection of a relationship model, a volunteer match is sought that will maximize the likelihood of a successful relationship. One project claims a 75 percent successful match-relationship rate based on a subjective scale,[26] while others have low success rates and may be purposely not reported.

Most projects have experienced difficulty in effecting good matches. It is rarely possible to achieve the "best" match for all probationers. When it is not possible to identify the best match, the decision must be made whether to delay assignment or assign the probationer to the best available match. The ability of a project to make effective best available matches is the cornerstone of successful operations and continued project stability, second only to the maintenance of solid community support. To facilitate solid "second best" matches, projects seek to maintain an adequate supply of volunteers with the skills necessary to meet the probationers' needs. Selective recruitment of volunteers at the presentence investigation stage and prompt reassignment of current volunteers to new cases can serve to increase the probability of effecting good matches.

Other matching problems have also arisen. Some projects are assessed by the gross number of relationships which are achieved. The result is an emphasis on the quantity of match-making, with little emphasis on the quality of the matches. Often the volunteer insists on being assigned to certain kinds of probationer, even though the matching rules indicate that the match would not be a good relationship. It appears that those projects which are short of volunteers will allow the match to take place, while those projects seeking to maintain high efficiency ratings will not.

At any given time, a certain percentage of the volunteers and the probationers are unassigned or are awaiting reassignment. The 1974 New Hampshire project [27] reported that almost 40 percent of their volunteers remained unassigned due to a lack of good project management. The 1975 Southfield Michigan project reported having received more volunteer applications than the staff could handle.[28] When a person seeks to become involved in a volunteer project, his interest can generally be expected to be high. The passage of time seems only to dampen that original enthusiasm. Some projects report a recruit to match time lag of only thirty days,[29] while others report as long as eleven month.[30] The 1975 Macomb County, Michigan Project[31] even reported that some of their volunteers were never assigned a function at all.

The 1975 Wilmington Delaware project[32] reported that at times the delay was so extreme that the offender was already dismissed from probation before the volunteer was assigned to him. Needless to say, most projects attempt to minimize this time lapse.

Supervising the Match

Once a relationship model has been chosen and the match made, the supervision phase comes into prominence. The nature and degree of the supervision varies from project to project. Volunteers, in most cases, are responsible either to the Court, the probation department or to the volunteer program. In general, we can classify the broad nature of probation officer supervision of volunteers techniques into five categories as follows:

1. No supervision
2. Written reports after contact with assigned client
3. Verbal reports after contact with assigned client.
4. Periodic meeting of Volunteers Administrative Assistant and/or Probation Officer
5. Feedback from client is solicited by Administrative Assistant

The degree or intensity of the individual supervision is a direct function of three variables:

1. Probationer attitudes and progress
2. Volunteer attitude
3. Probation Officer - Volunteer Supervisor attitude

A critical organizational issue concerning the trade-off between volunteer discretion and organizational control merits some discussion at this point. A 1976 Georgia study smmarized this issue as follows:

> "How much procedure and control are necessary for effective functioning without unduly sacrificing the advantages of flexibility? Flexibility is considered essential to accommodate the individual personalities of the volunteer and probationer. The point is to accomplish a goal, rather than to prescribe how it will be accomplished. Some parameters should be set, but a broad philosophical framework can be sufficient"[33]

Horejsi, for example, describes a conceptual base from which the volunteer can plan his own intervention. His framework is called Motivation, Capacity, and Opportunity, or the M-C-O Approach. The M-C-O approach helps the volunteer to view the probationer's problems within the context of three inter-related factors: motivation, capacity, opportunity. Motivation can be defined as what the probationer wants and how much he wants it. Capacity refers to various resources, skills, and abilities which a probationer possesses. Opportunity refers to opportunities in the probationer's social environment and those skills and services which the volunteer brings to the probationer's life situation. All three factors must coexist before change is possible. As the volunteer works with the probationer, he needs to keep all three factors in mind and always relate them to that which the probationer defines as his problem.[34] On the other hand, adequate controls are necessary for organized functioning and as protective measures. Working with probationers is a sensitive area. Therefore, controls on the use of discretion by the volunteer are necessary, just as there are some controls on the use of discretion by officers.

Summary Table

The table below summarizes twenty-two project operations and organizational constructions. Refer to the charts on pages 239-241 as the key to the organizational construction categories and to the table on page 237 as the key to the operational combination category.

TABLE 6.2

Projects	Operational Combinations	Organization Construction
Colorado	1 4	2
Royal Oak, Michigan	1 3 4	3
New Hampshire	1	1
San Francisco	1 2 3	1
Macomb County, Michigan	1 3	1
Lansing, Michigan	1	1
Nebraska	1	1
Lincoln, Nebraska	1 3 4	Unknown

Projects	Operational Combinations	Organization Construction
Indiana	3	2
Macomb County, Michigan	1	1
Fairbanks and Anchorage Alaska	1 2 4	1
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	3	1
Lancaster County, Pennsylvania	1	Unknown
Franklin County, Ohio	1	3
Alameda County, California	1 2 3 4	1
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	3	1
Wilmington, Delaware	1 4	3
Delaware County, Pennsylvania	1	1
Toronto, Canada	1	Unknown
Denver County, Colorado	1 2 3	1
Santa Barbara, California	1 2 3 4	1
Cleveland, Ohio	1	1

Evaluations

What can be said of the effectiveness of volunteer projects upon society, the probationer, the volunteer, and the criminal justice system? Much has been written in the past fifteen years since Leenhouts resurrected the volunteer concept. Proponents of volunteer programs have assumed that volunteer projects contribute to probationer rehabilitation at no greater risk to society than the traditional probation system, an assumption which can be tested by comparing recidivism rates and social attitude scores of probationers involved in volunteer projects with those of probationers not involved in volunteer projects. Secondly, a comparison of probation officer caseloads before and after volunteer project operations can be undertaken to determine if volunteer projects can reduce caseloads. Thirdly, the premise that a volunteer project can provide services at a cost less than the traditional probation services can be examined by undertaking a cost/benefit approach to the system. It should be noted that the evaluation section will review the use of volunteers as dependent upon, not as a replacement for, traditional probation services. These three measures (recidivism rates and social attitude scores, caseload sizes, and cost/benefit analyses) will be classified as the primary indicators of impact.

A brief examination of the scope of the projects will be undertaken by reviewing a secondary indicator of impact - the number of volunteer hours contributed by a project. Collateral impact of the effect of volunteer projects upon probation offices and department operations will also be considered.

Before proceeding farther, it should be noted that the maintenance of a solid rapport with the external environment is probably the primary goal of all volunteer project administrators. Some seek this rapport with local government leaders as the prime target, in order to obtain increased formal acceptance or adoption by the local court or probation department. Others are content to work with little thought of seeking formal government financial support, but rather seek this relationship with selected members of the community at large, in order to increase project stability in terms of additional volunteers and donations from local business and industry. Of course, both types of projects must maintain favorable relations with the local judges and/or probation departments who permit the projects to continue.

Primary Indicators of Impact

It is in the interest of any volunteer project to maintain low recidivism rates among its participants. This will indicate to the court, the probation department, the public, the media, and thus to the political powers, that the program has been successful, not only in promoting public safety, but in effecting a positive impact on the lives of the probationers. However, it is of little help to learn simply that the recidivism rate for volunteer probationers is, for example, fifteen percent. Such information is useful only when recidivism is clearly defined and when there is a relevant control group for comparison (such as computing the recidivism rate, measured in the same way over the same period of time for probationers eligible for volunteer project participation but having been supervised by a probation officer).

We have experienced some fundamental methodological difficulties in synthesizing volunteer project evaluations. It seems that few projects collect and release information relevant to an effectiveness evaluation. Even those that do collect information use a wide disparity of collection and evaluation techniques. This fact should be kept in mind when comparing and contrasting individual project operational statistics and data that will be presented herein.

Recidivism and Social Attitudes

Recidivism and/or attitude tendencies were reported in forty-five studies reviewed. Caution should be used in any across-the-board comparison of the figures because of the distinctive nature of each project's operation, the various data definitions and collection and analysis techniques. Given these caveats, a brief review of each of the 45 projects is in order. Of the 45 studies reviewed, 29 were classified as non-experimental, 7 as quasi-experimental and 9 as experimental.

In 1975, the Macomb County court in Mount Clemens, Michigan undertook an experimental study of their volunteer probation aides project.[35]

Two hundred probationers who qualified for participation in the project were randomly identified. One hundred were randomly assigned to the volunteer project and the remaining one hundred were assigned to the regular probation program. Recidivism figures (defined as reconviction) were compared between the two groups. Unfortunately, the report gives no indication of how the recidivism figures were computed. Nonetheless, the project found the recidivism rates among project probationers to be 6 percent, while the regular probationers recidivated at an 18 percent rate.

In 1977, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania published an experimental study of its volunteers project. A random sample of probationers and parolees with at least three months of probation or parole remaining was used to select probationers and parolees to be assigned to the volunteers project or to be assigned to regular probation. Recidivism figures were compared between probationers and parolees who were matched with the volunteers and those who were assigned regular probation. Redicivism was defined as re-arrest or probation/parolee violations detected during a ten month period. The study found recidivism rates among volunteer program participants to be 14.3 percent. Regular probationers recidivated at a 25.9 percent.[36]

The 1976 non-experimental evaluation of volunteer projects in five district courts in Colorado found the recidivism rate to be approximately 15.7 percent. A total of eighty-three adult probationers participated in the program from January through October 1976 in the five district courts examined, but this evaluation considered only seventy cases.[37]

In 1976, Hume undertook a review of fourteen volunteer projects in the state of Indiana. Twelve of the projects were evaluated by a non-experimental design and two were quasi-experimental evaluations. Two non-experimental and two quasi-experimental evaluations reported a recidivism rate for their projects. Unfortunately, Hume's report gives no indication of how recidivism was defined or calculated in these projects. The report does indicate that the Jay County Court volunteer project maintained a 21 percent recidivism rate among its volunteer participants and the Wayne County volunteer project estimated a 10 percent figure. The Vanderburgh project reported a volunteer project probationer participant recidivism rate of 6 percent and a regular probationer recidivism rate of 3.7 percent. The Knox County volunteer project reported a recidivism rate of 12 percent compared to a 30 percent rate for regular probationers in that county.[38]

In 1975, the Cleveland, Ohio Probationary Post-Release Project undertook a non-experimental study of their volunteers project. The records of all 156 volunteer probationer participants were reviewed. Recidivism was measured as a conviction of a criminal act or probation violation while under supervision. The recidivism rate was found to be 4 percent which was 2 percent below the program goal.[39]

In 1975, the City of Lincoln, Nebraska undertook an experimental study of their Volunteer Probation Counselor Program.[40] Eighty-four high-risk probationers equally qualified to be assigned a volunteer counselor were chosen. Forty were randomly chosen to participate in the volunteers project and forty-four were assigned to the regular probation program. Recidivism figures, defined as non-traffic offenses committed during probation, were compared between the two groups. The study found the recidivism rates among the volunteers project probationers to be 15 percent, while regular probationers recidivated at a 64 percent rate.

In 1970, the City of Royal Oak, Michigan undertook a quasi-experimental study of their volunteers in probation programs.[41] The 1970 evaluation looked at 310 probationers placed in the volunteers program in Royal Oak in 1965 and 223 probationers placed in a regular probation program in a nearby city. Recidivism figures, defined as conviction of new offenses from release in 1965 through September of 1969, were compared between the two groups. The study found the recidivism rates among the volunteers project probationers to be 14.9 percent, while regular probationers recidibated at a 49.8 percent rate.

In 1976, the California Youth Authority undertook a non-experimental review of thirteen volunteer projects located in the state of California.[42] "Improvement" was measured by arrests, disposition status, severity index and a combined index measured six months prior to match compared to six months after the match. Individual projects were identified only by letter in the California Youth Authority report. Program B reported that 57 percent of the participants in their program showed negative or neutral improvement subsequent to involvement in the volunteers program. Program C reported that 55 percent of the clients matched to volunteers showed negative or neutral improvement subsequent to involvement in the volunteers program. Program G reported that their volunteer project failed to have any real imact on reducing caseload size, reducing the number of referrals, or providing a wide scope of services to probationers through volunteers. Program H reported that just over 50 percent of their clients demonstrated an improvement subsequent to involvement in the volunteers program. Program K reported that 48 percent of the clients matched with volunteers showed negative or neutral improvement subsequent to involvement in the volunteers program. Program L reported that a substantial majority of the clients matched showed positive improvement subsequent to involvement in the volunteers projects. A composite evaluation was attempted, combining the number of arrests and the severity of the crimes committed six months after the match for all six programs. The chi-square value derived from the tests indicated that, at the .001 level, participation in a volunteer project did have a positive impact. More specifically, there were fewer arrests and less severe crimes committed by volunteer project probationer participants six months after a volunteer match than six months before.

In 1976, the City of Southfield, Michigan undertook a non-experiment descriptive review of their volunteers in probation project. A sample of 280 volunteer probationers was taken. Scrutiny of state police records one year after being released from probation revealed a re-arrest rate of 7.5 percent for the program participants.[45]

In 1977, the County of Lackawanna, Pennsylvania undertook a non-experimental descriptive review of their volunteers in probation project. A total of fifty-six probationers had participated in the project from August 1976 through January of 1977. Thirty percent of those participants were either re-arrested or indicted in that six month period.[46]

In 1975, the City of Toronto, Canada undertook a quasi-experimental review of its volunteers project. Three-hundred probationers assigned to regular probation who had had their cases closed in 1973 comprised a control group. Some 278 probationers who had been assigned a volunteer in 1970 through 1974 comprised the experimental group. Success on probation figures, defined as completion of the probation term without further charge, were compared between the two groups. The percentages of success were 78.5 percent for the volunteer-supervised group and 74.5 percent for the probation-supervised group.[47]

In 1965, the Royal Oak Michigan Municipal Court and Oak Park (Michigan) Municipal Court undertook a quasi-experimental study of the Royal Oak (Michigan) Municipal Court Volunteers Project. The study involved a comparison of recidivism, hostility, aggressiveness, belligerence and anti-social attitudes between those probationers assigned a volunteer in Royal Oak and those not assigned in Oak Park. Overall improvement was noted for 73.0 percent of the probationers in Royal Oak, 15.3 percent showed no change, and 11.7 percent regressed. In Oak Park, 17.8 percent improved overall, 34.2 percent showed no change and 48 percent regressed.[48]

In 1968, the Denver County Court, Colorado undertook an experimental study of its volunteers counseling project.[49] Four populations were identified in this study. The first control group consisted of all persons (with some standarized exceptions) brought before any judge in the Denver County court system during July-August, 1966. A second control group consisted of all persons (with some standarized exceptions) appearing in the court during May-June, 1967. The control groups were not placed on probation at all, but were given fines, jail sentences, etc. The first experimental group consisted of all persons (with some standarized exceptions) brought before the Denver County Court system during September-October, 1966. A second experimental group consisted of all persons (with some standarized exceptions) appearing in the court during September-October, 1967. The experimental groups were all placed on probation. Various attribute figures were derived from the California Psychological Inventory and Sociometric Battery tests which were administered at the time of the initial sanctions and one year thereafter. Arrest records one year prior to and one year subsequent to initial placement on probation were compared among the four groups. The findings revealed a positive significant difference between the experimental groups and the control groups concerning self evaluations and reduced re-arrest rates. Non-significant differences were noted in the California Psychological Inventory tests. Overall, experimental group members had a greater chance of success than control group members.

A statistically significant short-term improvement in behavior can be brought about by involving the actor in the probation/volunteer counseling program. While the studies cited so far generally tend to support the volunteers concept, a number of others tend to indicate just the opposite.

In 1976, Philadelphia undertook a quasi-experimental study of its volunteer project.[50] One hundred fifty-two probationers were randomly chosen for this study. Fifty-three of the probationers had been assigned to volunteers and the remainder had participated in regular probation. Recidivism figures, defined as re-arrest and reconviction while on probation, were compared for the two groups. The analysis indicated that at the .1 level, there was no significant difference in recidivism rates between probationers with volunteers assigned and probationers who participated in regular probation.

Amboyer reported that study of the Wayne County, Michigan Volunteers project, utilizing an experimental research design, found no significant differences between volunteer project probationer participants and non-participant probationers.[51] At the 1974 Michigan Volunteers in Corrections Conference, Gold reported that his experimental evaluation of the Ingham County Juvenile Court volunteers project has shown no significant differences between project participants and non-participants, and that volunteer tutors were more detrimental than helpful to the probationers.

In 1971, the Santa Barbara County Probation Department undertook an experimental review of its volunteers project. Twenty individuals were referred to the probation department following court proceedings, and were assigned to a probation officer using volunteers. Ten never had contact with the volunteer and ten did. No statistically significant differences were found between either of the groups on any of the attributes tested (age, referral reason, prior school performance, prior job performance, prior probation referrals, prior probation period). Further tests examined number of days absent from work, job performance success, number of probation conditions violated, number of new law enforcement contacts and number of new referrals as measured during a six-month period. Findings again indicated no statistically significant amount of change occurring with the use of volunteers over regular probation. There is no indication that the use of volunteers has any significant effect on the probationers' behavioral pattern.[52]

In 1974, the Franklin County Court in Columbus, Ohio undertook an experimental study of its volunteers project.[53] One hundred individuals were randomly chosen from a population of those eligible for probation. Of the ninety who offered to participate in the volunteer program, forty-two were actually matched with volunteers and forty were given regular probation. The evaluation included a comparison of both groups in terms of attitude, criminal behavior, and positive behavior. Measures of positive behavior over a six month period (employment, paticipation in self improvement programs, financial management, lack of critical incidents, and release from probation supervision) indicated no significant difference between the two groups. Criminal behavior scores determined over a six month period by the severity of the offense revealed no significant difference between the two groups. While 43 percent of the volunteer project probationer participants stated that their attitude toward society had improved as a result of the volunteers project, pre-post administration of attitude surveys indicated no statistically significant difference in attitudes in relation to criminality, anomie, motivation, self-esteem, and powerlessness.

Previous research on volunteer programs has focused primarily on answering the question of whether clients in programs using volunteer were less prone to recidivate than clients in programs without volunteers. In an extensive search of the literature, Cook and Scioli reported that while there is no sound evidence that clients with volunteers are more successful than clients without volunteers, there is some evidence suggesting some positive effects on probationers. In their survey of eleven experimental and quasi-experimental research project reports on volunteer impact on clients in courts and corrections, Cook and Scioli found that in three studies volunteers showed a significant impact on clients; in four studies, even though the evidence was not conclusive, there were either suggestive indications of success or at least mixed positive and neutral or negative results; and in the remaining four studies no significant differences were found between effectiveness with those clients with volunteers and clients without volunteers.[54]

Our review of sixteen experimental and quasi-experimental research projects found that four experimental studies and four quasi-experimental studies indicated that the volunteer projects were successful or had a positive impact upon the primary indicators. In four experimental studies and three quasi-experimental studies, neutral or negative differences were found between effectiveness of regular probation and volunteerism in terms of impact upon the primary indicators. An additional experimental study found a mixed positive and neutral result. This finding tends to conform to the Cook and Scioli finding that there was no clear-cut evidence that volunteer programs in courts and corrections were more successful than other program alternatives in achieving common objectives.

A review of Table 6.4 below allows the reader to contrast recidivism figures from project to project. The first column in the table is the project number, the key to which follows this chapter. Various indicators

TABLE 6.4

SUMMARY OF VIP EVALUATIONS

Project Number	Pro-rated Hours of Volunteer Service	Pro-rated # of Active Volunteers	Pro-rated # of Assigned Probationers	Percentage of Recidivism for Clients	Total Cost	Cost per Volunteer Hour Donated
1	6605.5	172	176	15.7	$26,500	$ 4.01
2	9000.0	500	500	7.0	17,000	1.90
3		32			29,900	
4		13			18,800	
5		26			16,666	
6		35			29,022	
7		23			39,866	
8		23			8,333	
9		40		12.0	10,911	
10		75		10.0	10,600	
11		20		21.0	10,000	
12		58		30.0	32,910	
13		189			16,642	
14	1429.0	50	158	14.0	12,520	
15		578	514		21,000	
16		80	80	15.0		
17	7429	161	182	6.0	23.540	3.17
18			415	26.7		
19		64	77	14.3	24,876	
20		50	50			
21		103	217			
22	860.0	78	61		7,500	8.67
23		163	163			
24	96075.0	1412			95,641.	
25	829.0	43				
26	1104.0	75		7.5		
27	2160.0	15	81			
28		1000	1000			
29		144	156	4.0		
30	6396.0	128				
31		128	271	21.5		
32		75				
33	9600.0	1400				
34	2000.0	50				
35		125	125			
36		200				
37	13000.0	198				

of impact, as denoted at the top of the columns are, for each project, recorded horizontally across the table opposite the project number.

Cost/Benefit Analyses

A cost-benefit analysis, as Nelson has pointed out, is a comparative listing and measuring of the economic pros and cons of projects reduced to a single monetary dimension. Cost-benefit calculations of volunteer projects will clearly differ depending upon the point of view chosen, be it government, societal, probationer, or volunteer. Furthermore, such an analysis should clearly distinguish between primary, secondary and tertiary costs and benefits.[55] However, such analyses become methodologically hazardous when attempting to measure non-monetary factors. Monetary values attached to non-monetary factors are subjective measures and of questionable validity. When reviewing volunteers projects in a cost-benefit framework, one should realize that, without standardization, cost-benefit comparisons of correctional programs will be only confusing and subjective excercises.

As previously emphasized, each volunteer project is different in terms of its operation, and most projects compute project costs and savings differently. Even if it were possible to equate the various program operations and the fiscal methodology used to compute costs and benefits, the figures would be difficult to interpret. For example, a new system savings of $10,000 in the operation of a large project does not have the same impact in criminal justice system operating costs as a $10,000 new system savings in the operation of a small town project. The most significant figures would be ones that demonstrate the net system cost and savings and the net individual costs and savings. We could find no such figures. We were able to locate a moderate amount of information concerning gross direct costs and several figures of net direct savings.

One project that has sought to ascertain its value to society is the well-known Royal Oak project.[56] The Royal Oak, Michigan Municipal Court project currently claims that the project operates on an annual $50,000 budget though it provides the community with $300,000 worth of services, for a gross direct savings of $250,000.

In 1974, the Macomb County, Michigan project[57] determined that it had donated some 7,429 hours of service which were worth $37,145 to the community. The actual cost of $21,765 was encumbered by the project, leaving a gross direct savings of some $15,000. The total dollar amount for 7,429 hours of service at the then-current probation officer salary of $7.50/per hour would place the gross direct savings at $32,000. The Macomb County Volunteer Counseling Project[58] reports a gross direct savings of some $9,000 to the community. In the future, these evaluations would do well to take into consideration some of the indirect costs of the project, such as probation officer time loss and future crime costs.

The LEAA has established a suggested standard for estimating costs of volunteer supervision. They suggest a figure of $1.00 to $1.50 per volunteer hour or $100 to $150 per volunteer year as appropriate costs. None of the programs we reviewed met the per hour standard though several have met the per-year standard by reducing the number of hours of service rendered by the volunteer. What the LEAA guidelines have failed to take into consideration is the fact that a volunteer project can exist in many forms. Perhaps new LEAA guidelines that would reflect the diversity and the multitude of services offered from project to project would be in order.

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As Nelson has noted, even the most meticulous and ingenious measure of the fiscal merits of a particular project cannot and should not ever be the sole criterion of the project's evaulation, for what is not measurable or testable, may in the end, be what is the most important.[59]

Caseloads

Volunteer project proponents originally hypothesized that a direct result of volunteer projects would be a reduction in the size of probation officer caseloads. The 1975 experimental evaluation of the Macomb County project[60] found a caseload reduction of 13.9 percent directly attributable to the volunteer project. The 1975 Philadelphia project[61] surveyed its probation officers and the officers expressed a "strong opinion that the use of volunteers actually reduced probation officer workload." The 1974 Southfield Michigan project[62] noted a "marked reduction" in caseload size for professional probation officers, because of the volunteer project. The figure dropped from 175 per officer to approximately 75 per officer during the second year of the project, despite significant increases in total caseload assignments to the department.

A 1976 study by the California Youth Authority of an unnamed County probation department's volunteer project found that the project failed to have any real impact on reducing caseload size.[63] Some volunteer projects have a tendency to increase probation officer's responsibility. For example, in the Wilmington, Delaware project[64] the probation officer not only maintains his previous caseload, but also is given a number of volunteers to supervise. On the other hand, some projects have required only a minimal amount of probation officer time. In 1975, the Lincoln, Nebraska project[65] reported that it utilized only six percent of available probation officer time. A breakdown of this time by function is included in Table 6.3.

TABLE 6.3

PROBATION OFFICER ACTIVITIES IN RELATION TO VIP PROGRAMS

Activity	% of Time
1. Recruit (interview and test)	.5
2. Training Sessions	3.0
3. Matching	.5
4. Initiate Meeting Arrangements	.5
5. Solving Problems in the Match	1.0
Time Cost	6.0% of Probation Officer Time

In 1973, the National Information Center on Volunteerism reported that one hour of staff time was needed for every fifteen to twenty-five hours of volunteer service rendered.[66]

Secondary Indicators

Volunteer projects began as an attempt to increase the quality of probation service offered the probationer. Such service could not, of course, be offered without manpower. While an increase in the number of volunteers and hours donated cannot be and should not be viewed as an end in itself, volunteer projects operate on the assumption that a direct correlation does exist between the amount of time given the probationer and his subsequent rehabilitation. Of course, the time must be "quality" time, but we have no means of measuring quality at this point. Our review of forty-five project evaluations has found a wide variation in project size, from the Los Angeles County VISTO Project[67] and its 1412 volunteers who donate 96,000 hours per year, to the Gibson County Circuit Court Project[68] which had one volunteer.

A review of Table 6.4 below will allow the reader to contrast some of the secondary measures from project to project. The first column in the table is the project number, the keys to which are at the end of the chapter. Various indicators of impact, as denoted at the top of the columns, are,for each project,recorded horizontally across the table opposite the project number.

Collateral Indicators

To stop at this point and imply that volunteer projects have had no other impact upon the system would be misleading. The operationalization of volunteer projects has resulted in a number of collateral impacts. The 1972 study of the Anchorage and Fairbanks, Alaska projects "found that a majority of the adult offenders (in the project) were misdemeanants referred by the District Court and a majority of them would not have been on probation at all had the volunteers project not existed."[69] These individuals, who prior to the incorporation of the volunteer project, would have been judged as not needing probation office supervision, with the advent of the volunteers project, found themselves subject to both a volunteer's and a probations officer's supervision.

The 1976 report of Volunteer projects in Indiana concluded that more contact time with the probationer could be purchased by hiring another probation officer rather than establishing a Volunteer project.[70]

It has been noted that some volunteer projects tend to match volunteers with probationers whose criminal history seems to indicate that they are more likely to recidivate than the probationer population as a whole. This interesting observation of the 1975 Philadelphia study[71] has been independently confirmed by the 1975 Lincoln, Nebraska[72] study, and the 1977 Colorado study.[73] The Lincoln, Nebraska project reported that assignments of volunteers to low-risk offenders is an "inefficient use of volunteers"[74] and deliberately separates high-risk offenders from the general population for assignment into the volunteer project. The Philadelphia project administrators concur in this philosophy and assign volunteers to high-risk probationers "because they are more inclined to violate probation and are perceived as needing more attention."[75] On the other hand, other projects, such as the Alameda County, California[76] project, the Wilmington Delaware project,[77] and the San Francisco volunteer projects tend to focus their volunteer time upon low-risk cases.

The 1975 Toronto, Canada Volunteers project found previous experience with a volunteer on the part of the probationer to have an effect on his success. Those who had had either one or two previous volunteer experiences were significantly more successful than those with three or more experiences. The Toronto project also found that the length of time a volunteer supervises a probationer is a significant criterion of success. Probationers who were with volunteers for less than six months were significantly less successful than probationers who were with volunteers for more than six months.[78]

While reporting in a quasi-experimental study that probationer revocation was three times greater for probationers on regular probation than those involved with the volunteer project, the Partners Project, based in Anchorage and Fairbanks, Alaska,[79] stated that lower probation revocation rates on the part of the volunteer participants may indicate a higher tolerance for deviance on the part of the project personnel.

The 1975 California Youth Authority Study found no evidence to suggest that private agency community based volunteer programs are more successful than public correctional agency volunteer programs in reducing client recidivism.[80]

A whole series of issues has arisen out of the probation officer - volunteer relationship. The fact that some probation officers feel volunteers are a threat to their jobs has surfaced in various projects. This element of Probation Officer and volunteer relationships cannot be eliminated unless probation officers can be convinced that they will not lose their jobs, grossly alter their roles, nor diminish their potential vertical mobility within the department because of the volunteers. Hiring of volunteers as probation officers is a common practice in some departments,[81] but must be undertaken in such a way that minimizes the threat to the existing probation officers. The 1976 report of the Lincoln, Nebraska project noted that some initial resistance to the volunteers project was felt from probation officers and was not abated until the officers were assured that the project would not adversely affect them, and, more specifically, not affect their roles.[82] Some job role resentment has arisen. While probation officers serve as enforcers, the volunteer is allowed and encouraged to participate in enjoyable activities with the probationer. This resentment on the part of the probation officer must be minimized. Volunteers going to bat, so to speak, for their probationers in court despite the probation officers' feelings to the contrary has been an area of concern for many projects.

Due in large part to these facts, many projects are perhaps being primed for ultimate destruction by apathetic and resentful probation department personnel. For example, the 1976 San Francisco Project reported[83] that almost 50 percent of the Department staff surveyed felt that the Volunteer Project did not have either the Department staff support or the support from the administration needed to be successful. The 1974 New Hampshire Project[84] also reported that only about half of their probation officers truly believed in the Volunteer project and "actively worked for its success."

The 1973 Franklin County, Ohio project evaluation noted that while the use of volunteers with male probationers looked more promising, the use of volunteers with female probationers may be having a negative impact. "Females are behaving worse than the control group in both criminal and positive behavior."[85] The report concluded that the current volunteer project adjustment in Franklin County favors males and suggested that efforts be make to further assist female probationers, though no suggestion was made as to how this could be accomplished. The 1975 Toronto, Canada study found just the opposite of the Franklin County observation. More specifically, females probationers involved in the volunteers project were, at the .05 level, significantly more likely to complete their probation terms successfully than male probationers involved in the volunteers project.[86]

Beless, Pilcher and Ryan[87] have suggested that the use of a person with the same socio-economic background as the probationer seems to reduce social distance and encourages probationer interaction with the volunteer. Grossner describes them as "a bridge between the lower-class client and the middle-class professional worker."[88] Gordon states: "The indigenous leader can communicate instantly to the suspicious and distrustful client, avoiding noblesse oblige, in a way many middle-class professionals cannot do when dealing with disaffected hostile, anomic clients who see the middle-class agency worker as part of the system against which he is fighting."[89]

A 1974 Study by Berer and Zautra confirmed their hypothesis that middle-class volunteers were considered more helpful than staff officers by middle-class probationer, but line officers or lower-class volunteers were considered more helpful by working-class or uneducated clients.[90]

On the other hand, a 1976 Georgia Institute of Technology study points out that while using such personnel facilitates communication, the following grounds are given for not restricting the probationer's official contact only to the indigenous worker:

1. In everyday life, the probationer will be dealing with persons from other social classes.
2. The probationer/probation officer relationship which is helpful will involve a realistic trust.
3. If trust is established, and the resulting relationship with the middle-class probation officer is accepted, the lower-class client's future reaction in dealing with persons from the middle-class is apt to be enhanced. This, of course, is dependent upon the degree to which the client generalized his experience."[91]

The State of Indiana hired more than eighty student interns during the summer months of 1971, and placed them in thirty-nine courts. Their 1972 report indicated that "the interns rekindled some zealousness in the probation departments where they served." No negative collateral impacts were noted in the Indiana study, though some report that the use of student interns as case aides requires increased supervision and constant scheduling disruptions due to school breaks.[92] The Indiana project may have avoided these problems by employing the interns in the summer months when school was out and the interns could devote full time and attention to the volunteer project tasks at hand.

The 1975 Study by the State of Virginia[93] concerning the use of student interns stated that their use "has proved to be a most rewarding experience in almost every instance." The studies reviewed indicate that interns more than repay the employing department for the time spent in training, if they stay on active duty for at least two semesters. Both the Indiana study[94] and the Southfield, Michigan study[95] concluded that upper-level college students (juniors and seniors) were more desirable student interns than lower-level students (freshmen and sophomores). The Southfield project further stated that a two semester contract with the student is best for all concerned on the theory that the longer a volunteer is kept, the more productive he becomes.

Another collateral impact of significance revolves around the artificial or indirect coercion factor. If a convicted offender believes his lot can be improved by feigning an interest in the local volunteer project, this is the course he will follow. Subsequently the project will be filled with probationers who have little or no desire to participate and are using the project mainly as a means of escaping institutionalization, or escaping supervision by a probation officer. Table 6.4 above summarized the evaluation section by illustrating various primary and secondary impacts of thirty-seven of the forty-five projects reviewed. Caution should be utilized in attempting an across-the-board comparison of the data, due to the fact that each project is different in terms of services provided, operational techniques, and political environment of operation.

Summary

Volunteer projects have been reviewed due to the feeling that probation services can be upgraded by utilizing volunteers with no great risk to societal well-being and at a minimal cost. Scioli and Cook's 1976 evaluation of some 250 volunteer projects found volunteers to be "at least as effective" in reducting recidivism and improving probationer self concept as the traditional system.[96] Our review of forty-five projects concurs with these findings of Scioli and Cook. There is no clear-cut evidence that volunteer programs are any more successful nor any less successful than other program alternatives. Generally, it seems that volunteers projects can also reduce probation officer caseload, and provide their service at a relatively cost/beneficial rate. While certainly not

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all individual projects are successful in these areas, volunteer projects in general seems to be able to offer an increased quality in the probation service at a reduced cost.

Despite these positive conclusions, volunteer projects must be undertaken with extreme caution, for they are fraught with operational and administrative pitfalls. Care should be taken in any attempt to obtain probation officers' support for such a project and an effort made to insure their continued assistance. Operations must be streamlined in order to facilitate prompt processing and assignment of project applicants. An effort should be made to recruit volunteers with socio-economic backgrounds similar to the probationer population and a special effort made to become more responsive to the female probationer. It appears that an attempt should also be made to screen out probationers who do not have the desire to truly participate in the project.

Mounsey has observed that while criticism of, and objection to, volunteer projects does have a basis, a more constructive approach would be to stress that these problems can be minimized through the coupling of a desire to succeed with a skillful administration of the project guidelines.[97]

Issues to be Addressed

There remain many critical aspects of volunteer project operations which have not yet been resolved. Further consideration of these issues would certainly be in order. Such topics would include:

1. What information should be used to determine which probationers participate?
2. What information should be used to determine who should be accepted as a volunteer?
3. What can be done to improve external communication lines between the court, the probation department, the probationer and the volunteer project?

4. What can be done to improve internal communication lines between the volunteer, the supervisor, the administrative assistants and the chief administrator?

5. What information should be used to determine which relationship model to utilize in order to achieve maximum individual benefit?

6. What information should be used to determine who should be matched with whom in order to achieve maximum individual benefit for the volunteer, the probationers, and the system?

7. What can be done to decrease the time lapse from volunteer or probationer selection to match?

8. What combinations of volunteer relationship models are the most cost/beneficial?

9. What activities should be undertaken to effect the most cost/beneficial impact upon the criminal justice system as a whole?

10. What can be done to improve recordkeeping capability and accuracy on the part of the project staff?

11. What can be done to minimize friction between volunteer and probation department personnel?

12. What can be done to more thoroughly communicate project purposes and procedures to participants?

13. How much discretion should be given the volunteer in his dealings with his probationer? Should different volunteers be given different amounts of discretion? Should different relationship models be given different amounts of volunteer discretion? What information should be utilized to make this differentiation?

14. What can be done with the volunteer to assist female probationers?

15. What can be done to reduce the indirect coercion of the convicted offender to join a volunteer project?

16. What can be done to maximize the amplification and diversification of volunteer services while minimizing societal risk and operational costs?

FIGURE 6.4

Project Number Key

1. Colorado Project, Cabell C. Cropper, Evaluation of Probationer Volunteer Program in the 9th, 11th, 12th, 18th and 19th Districts, Colorado Judicial Department, Research and Evaluation Unit, 1977

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APPENDIX VI-A

Potential Court Uses of Volunteers

Compiled By

The National Information Center on Volunteerism

Volunteer Job Title or Category

Addiction Program Volunteer
Administrative Assistant
Administrative Volunteer
Administrator
Adult Advisory Council Member
Alcohol School Instructor
Alcoholics Anonymous
Arts and Crafts
Assistant Chief Probation Officer
Assistant Probation Officer
Associate Staff Counselor
Attention Home Volunteer
Attention Home Board Member
Audiological Test Administrator
Audiological Test Interpreter
Audiologist
Baby Care Volunteer
Babysitter
Background Information on Probationers
Barber
Big Brother
Big Sister
Budget Committee Member
Camps, Camping
Case Aide
Case Aide, Intake
Checking and Enforcement of Court Orders
Chief Counselor
Chief Probation Officer (Volunteer)
Child Support Aide
Child Welfare Aide
Christmas Project Volunteer
Church Referral Minister
Clerical Aide, Clerical Volunteer, Clerical Services
Clipping Service
Clothes Closet Volunteer
Clothes and Laundry Cleaning Services
Clothing and Morale

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Volunteer Job Title or Category

Clothing, Clothing Volunteer
Coordinator
Cosmetician, Cosmetologist
Court Referee (Volunteer)
Court Services
Court Watchers
Data Analysis, Collection, Coding
Decoration, Fix-Up
Dentist
Deputy Probation Officer
Desk Service
Detached Worker
Diagnostic Home Volunteer
Discussion Group Coordinator
Discussion Group Leader: Juvenile
Discussion Group Leader: Parents of Probationers
Driving Instruction, Driver School
Educational Aide
Employers
Employment
Employment Counselor
Encounter Program Volunteer
Entertainment, Parties
Facilities
Family Living Course
Family Worker
Field Placement
Finance
Foster Parents
Foster Parents (Group Home)
Foster Parent (Individual)
Foster Parents Coordinator
Friendly Visitor
Fund Raiser
Grooming Services
Group Counselor
Group Guidance Volunteer
Group Psychotherapist
Guidance Counselor
High School Advisory Council Member
Home Economics
Home Skills
House of Detention Volunteer
Infirmary Volunteer
Information on Probationers
Insurance
Intake Aide
Intake Volunteer
Job Registry
Job Testing Volunteer

Volunteer Job Title or Category

Jobs for Juniors
Junior Cadet Instructor
Juvenile Clinic Volunteer
Juvenile Conference Committeeman
Juvenile Jury
Juvenile Rehabilitatation and Big Brother Program
Lamp Lighters
Lay Group Counselor
Legal Consultant
Legislation, Lobbying
Librarian
Library Board
Listen-to-a-Child
Marriage Counselor
Materials and Supplies
Messenger Services
Minister of the Month
Ministerial Services
Neighborhood Work
Newsletter Editor
Nursery Aide
Nursery School Volunteer
Occasional Service Volunteer
Occupational Therapist
Office Work
Office Worker
One-to-One Volunteer
Optometric Test Administrator
Optometric Test Interpreter
Optometrist
Parole Adviser
Petition Aide
Physician
Police Support
Pre-School Volunteer
Pre-Sentence Investigator
Preventative Court Coordinator
Probation Aide
Probation Officer Aide
Professional Skills Volunteer
Psychiatric Social Worker
Psychiatrist
Psychologist: Clinical or Guidance
Psychologist: Test Interpretation
Public Relations
Receptionist
Record-Keeping
Recreation, Recreational Activity Volunteer
Recreation, Scholarship, Vocation
Recruiter

Volunteer Job Title or Category

- Religious Guidance
- Remedial Reading Specialist
- Researcher
- Resource Development and Administration
- Resource Groups, Resource Directory
- School Liaison
- School Volunteer
- Secretary
- Social Work Associate
- Social Worker
- Sociologist
- Speakers' Bureau
- Speech Therapy
- Special Directing Board Member
- Special Program Aide
- Special Skills Volunteer
- Spiritual Rehabilitation
- Sponsor
- Spruce-Up
- Stay-in-Job
- Stay-in-School
- Student Probation Officer
- Talks for Parents or Probationers
- Teen Aid, Inc.
- Test Administrator and Scorer (Objective Tests)
- Test Interpreter (Objective Tests)
- Testing Program Coordinator
- Therapist
- Transportation Volunteer
- Tutor
- Tutor Program: Administration
- Tutor Program: School Liaison
- Typist
- Visitation Volunteer
- Vocational Service Aide
- Volunteer Assistant Chief Probation Officer
- Volunteer Chief Probation Officer
- Volunteer Coordinating Council Chairman
- Volunteer Coordinating Council Member
- Volunteer Counselor
- Volunteer Juvenile Counselor
- Volunteer Probation Counselor
- Volunteer Probation Officer
- Work Program
- Work Program Coordinator
- Writer (Informational or Promotional Material)

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER VI

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CHAPTER VII

EDUCATION AND TRAINING OF PROBATION OFFICERS

Introduction

In the 1950's, the National Probation and Parole Association (NPPA) recommended that all probation officers hold a bachelor's degree supplemented by at least one year of graduate study or full-time field experience,[1] on the assumption that an educated officer is a more competent and mature individual and thus is in a better position to efficiently perform the varied functions of the probation officer.

However, it was not until the educational emphasis reflected in the 1967 President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice Task Force Report and the federal funds were available that the demand for a college education for probation officers began to rise. In 1970, the American Bar Association (ABA) reaffirmed the old NPPA standard and suggested that attainment of a master's degree be the preferred norm.[2] It was noted by the ABA that, while few departments have held to this standard, many are encouraging their personnel to become involved in higher education.

What evidence is there that the formal, post high school education suggested by this standard should be required of probation officers? Comanor has suggested that acceptance of the philosophy of professional education as a necessary preparation for entry into a position, has several practical advantages for employing organizations:

1. Responsibility for basic preparation for the field is assumed by educational institutions and by the student. This represents a large

scale investment of time, money and educational skill which will not be required of the employing organization;

2. The graduate degree is a positive indicator of the suitability of the new employee for the position, reducing loss of organizational efficiency through errors of recruitment and slowness in assuming a full workload;

3. It reduces the scope of training for which the organization and field must take responsibility, permitting focus on advanced work and innovation, instead of directing effort to elementary knowledge;

4. A common base of knowledge is assured, enhancing internal communication and cooperation, and facilitating interchange and influence with other fields and organizations;

5. The professional perspective, i.e., the profession's social accountability and the learning of contemporary concepts at the graduate level protect against organizational introversions and intellectual isolation.[3]

Unfortunately, Comanor offered no empirical data to support these points. Secondly, he made no attempt to ascertain the nature and extent of the education that will lead to the greatest benefit for the probation system. The literature is replete with often contradictory educational curriculum proposals. Each of these seems to have raised operational issues as various departments have sought to adhere to one form or another of these pre-service educational and/or in-service training programs and standards. However, the critical, over-riding issues of the past twenty-five years have focused on whether there is a need for advanced pre-service education and, second, what type of in-service training will provide the greatest benefit to the probation officer, the department, the clientele, and the system.

Pre-Service Educational Standards

The premise that a university graduate is more capable and competent a probation officer seems to have been generally accepted by criminal justice planners, administrators and educators,[4] although there seems to be little hard evidence to support this idea. This lack of hard data can be attributed in large part to the lack of a consensus as to the objectives of the pre-service educational programs.[5] Schnur has pointed out that, in order to assess the impact of pre-service education we must first agree upon the proper purpose and practice for probation officers.[6] To date, there has been no consensus as to their proper function,[7] nor can we reasonably expect there to be, given our decentralized system of justice, where the 'proper function' varies from jurisdiction to jurisdiction and from situation to situation. Newman is credited with a similar conclusion which holds that before arriving at a decision as to the function of education, we must decide what it is the correctional system is to accomplish. He states: "Training must be training for something and as long as we do not know what that something is, we cannot say what proper training should be."[8] Schnur has pointed out that the establishment of educational standards seems quite premature when corrections has yet to come to a consensus regarding its own objectives.[9] Edwards has stated that the main task of designing an effective program is to bring into focus clearly what the program is to achieve.[10] This focus has not been made in the area of probation nor corrections as a whole. If it is assumed that a proper function can be defined for probation, several logical steps must be followed to determine what comprises a competent performance of that function. First, competency must be categorized into basic elements (skills) and then some determination made as to the weighted significance of each element upon overall probation competency. Once having performed these previous steps and on the assumption that an accurate, obtainable indicator of competency could be developed, we would finally be able to empirically measure the impact of education upon competency.

Pre-service education is defined here as being college education received prior to employment as a probation officer. A few researchers such as Cohn,[11] Miles,[12] and Newman,[13] have addressed themselves to this subject by examining various probation work elements they perceived as fundamental and evaluating the impact of education upon those elements. Up to this time however, there seem to have been no empirical attempts to evaluate and categorize competency into basic elements and to quantitatively ascertain the weighted significance of each element upon probation officer competency. This need has been recognized by such authors as Sternback,[14] Taylor and McEachern,[15] the California Youth Authority,[16] and the State of Oklahoma Probation Department,[17] for without such an empirical analysis, we will remain uncertain about the true worth and impact of education upon probation officer performance.

While an analysis of probation work elements as described above seems unattainable at this time, perhaps a cost/benefit review would be helpful. Taylor and McEachern point out that there is a "traditional acceptance of the fact that a little time lost in training is made up later in increased efficiency."[18] However, they present no foundation for such a claim, possibly because, again, there does not appear to have been any research done in this area.

Cost/benefit analyses would help determine the nature, frequency, and quantity of educational investment that would bring the optimum rate of return (in this case optimum competency) at the minimum cost. Such an undertaking is methodologically hazardous, for to undertake this type of study also requires clear-cut, predetermined "proper probation officer functions," as well as a consensus as to what comprises a competent performance of each function. Such determinations are extremely difficult, as has been suggested previously. While extensive difficulties may be present in any attempt to measure output and efficiency of probation agencies, Ostrom[19] has pointed out that such efforts must be undertaken to evaluate the success of reforms and to predict success or failure with a higher degree of accuracy. Without serious attempts to evaluate the consequences of reform, future changes may produce more harm than good.

As mentioned, there have been only a few attempts to handle these issues. In 1970, Cohn conducted a study involving some 270 probation officers and administrators.[20] He found that the higher the level of education, regardless of the area of study, the more lenient the probation administrator tended to be, and conversely the lower the educational achievement, the more severe he tended to be. He further reported finding no significant difference between pre-service education subject area studied and case judgment. However, he did observe a tendency for undergraduate social work majors to be slightly more severe in their judgments than under-graduates with other majors. This has been an issue of great debate in the past few years. While there are many who concur with Cohn that the area of study does not make a difference upon attitude or performance, there are those who feel quite strongly to

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the contrary. Schnur has stated that "training for corrections should be training in corrections."[21] Others, such as Newman espouse a more liberal educational preparation but with emphasis on correctional topics.[22]

From 1974 to 1975, the city of Philadephia conducted an evaluation of their probation officer in-service training program.[23] A major component of the program was a series of mandatory undergraduate and graduate level course work for the officers. The major aspects of the evaluation included at least a weekly face-to-face conference between probation officer trainees and the training unit, along with classroom instructor feedback to the probation department staff. A questionnaire mailed to past training participants was also analyzed. Unfortunately, the researchers did not utilize a uniform method of evaluating subsequent performance, thus no attempt was made to assess the actual impact of training on the officers'level of performance or competency. However, the existing data do "not support any necessary connection between education and competency in the human services field."[24] While Newman has suggested that, in general, pre-entry education should develop general skills and bring an aura of maturity and professionalism to the probation officer, he has concluded that "neither education nor lack of it assures us of a stable and emotionally mature individual."[25] Schnur would seem to agree with Newman that education is not a substitute for personal maturity, and, in calling for a moratorium on the establishment of educational standards for probation officers, stated that what is important is not how the applicant secured his knowledge and ability, but whether he has what it takes to be a good officer.[26] A fifteen year study by Heath independently concurs with Newman's observations, suggesting that good grades and other usual measures of academic success do not correlate with personal maturity and competency in later life.[27]

Leeds has asked if the necessary inter-personal skills can be developed in a college setting. In his opinion they can, although he further states that the practice of overwhelming the educated probation officer with a caseload of 100-150 probationers negates the value of that education. Leeds, however, provides no indication as to how this conclusion was derived.[28]

In 1961, the State of Wisconsin examined the function of probation and parole as interpreted by 116 officers. The results of this study are quite provocative. Miles's report of the study suggested that pre-service education "had somewhat of a negative association with the probation and parole officers' (personal) opinions."[29] This negative association was manifested in feelings of insecurity and inability to reconcile the principles of casework as presented in schools of social work with the elements of surveillance and law enforcement required by the officers' day-to-day tasks. Miles also noted that the officer who enters probation service without a graduate level education experiences less of this trauma, and, after several years of experience, there is very little difference between the philosophy and the practice of the educated and less educated officers.[30] This would lead one to believe that the value of pre-service education is predominantly short-run in impact and its immense cost may not be worth such a minimal, perhaps even negative, benefit.

In-Service Training Standards

In-service training is defined here as training received subsequent to acceptance as a probation department employee. The establishment of standards in the area of in-service training meets with many of the methodological hazards previously detailed above. In the absence of any hard data as to the most beneficial training curriculum, probation has seen a myriad of suggested curricula as previously mentioned, which are often contradictory even within a single program. The Philadelphia project noted considerable "ambivalence, difference and clash of opinion as to proper training functions, structure and activity."[31] In 1975, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency report of the Florida Parole and Probation Commission stated: "there is indication that expectations of what training should do are different among some key people, all of whom are located higher up in the organization than the training manager. Depending on who is talking to or making demands on training, the expectation is subtly different."[32]

This situation again points to the need of determining the elements of a competent probation officer performance and quantitatively ascertaining the nature and extent of the training needed to produce the greatest benefit for that performance at the least cost. Until this is done, we will be unable to determine the true impact of training upon the system.

Despite some of the conceptual problems outlined here, we should consider several operational issues. In-service training has generally been divided into two time-frames, each with its own broad objectives, namely orientation training and developmental training.[33] Orientation training is, as its name suggests, provided to acquaint the probation officer with the community and with the probation department as an organization and instruct him in the basic mechanics of probation service. Developmental training is provided to polish skills and attend to the individual probation officer needs in increasing his own job performance efficiency. Departments vary widely in the amount of education and training which they require and offer. While there does not appear to be any comprehensive nationwide review of developmental and orientation programs being offered, a number of studies were reviewed. These studies demonstrated a lack of consistency in both the nature and degree of training provided. For example, the Oklahoma Department of Corrections requires a 120-classroom hour orientation training period and an additional 120-classroom hours of developmental training to be certified as a probation officer.[34] Massachusetts general law states that all incoming probation officers are to receive formal orientation training within six months of their appointments and a 45-hour developmental training session at least once every three years thereafter.[35] The state of Florida recommends forty hours of orientation during the first year and sixty additional hours during the first year.[36]

Operationalization of these standards is another matter. For example, most officers in Florida reported that they were on the job from one to two months and had a full caseload before receiving any formal orientation training and by then it was quite irrelevant and redundant. In addition, a great deal of anxiety was experienced since the training required a two week absence from the field.[37]

On the other hand, some programs have found wide probation officer acceptance of their operations. The Cleveland State University Training Institute was evaluated as "good" to "very good" by 88 percent of the participants.[38] Seventy percent of the probation officers who participated in a 1974 training program in Kentucky felt that the training had improved some aspect of their service delivery technique. One hundred percent of these probation officers' clients noted that, since the training, the officers had improved their services in some way.[39]

A survey of probation personnel in fifty-two probation departments in the state of California found that probation officers preferred workshops and group sessions to any other form of developmental training. The following table represents techniques, skills, and knowledge covered in these workshops and the percent of the staff judged to be knowledgeable in the area as viewed by the probation department staff and administrators.[40] Interestingly, administrators consistently estimate the knowledge level of the staff higher than the staff itself.

TABLE 7.1

KNOWLEDGEABILITY OF PROBATION STAFF AND ADMINISTRATORS

Areas of Job Skills and Knowledge	Percent of Staff Judged to be Knowledgeable in the Area	
	Administrators	Staff
General area of social sciences	96%	88%
General casework techniques	90%	78%
Social investigation techniques	94%	75%
Human relations	87%	67%
Orientation to the correctional field	87%	69%
Law as it affects the offender and staff	85%	69%
Utilization of community resources	83%	58%
Specialized diagnostic and treatment methods	72%	48%
Law enforcement techniques	74%	55%
Custody control and emergency techniques	77%	45%
Development of community resources	77%	47%
Management and administrative techniques	73%	44%

The State of Florida provides training such as alcohol rehabilitation, drug and drug abuse training, MMPI training, FCIC terminal operations, reality therapy, transactional analysis and general management training. However, the 1975 NCCD report found this training to be conducted by poorly prepared instructors who presented inadequate materials.[41] Senna has reported that some states "have reported the termination of their professional staff development programs; the reasons: 'loss of financial support' and some general dissatisfaction."[42]

Studies that have examined different aspects of in-service training operations have uncovered some interesting observations. For example, a 1973 California Youth Authority study of some fifty-two probation departments in California states that "staff interest in formal training is influenced by the extent to which they believe it will contribute toward getting promoted."[43] The report went on to recognize a "clear need for more extensive training embracing a much larger number of client-serving staff than have been involved thus far."[44] The report does not give any indication as to how it arrived at this conclusion of a "clear need," other than the fact that 70 percent of the staff, who desire to receive additional training in order to receive a promotion, do not feel that adequate training is being provided. Sternbach's review of the Philadelphia project found training to have the "greatest impact upon new officers who lack previous relevant education."[45] The value of that initial training and all subsequent training, however, decreases as time on the job increases. This observation by Sternbach concerning in-service training parallels the finding of Leeds regarding pre-service education.[46] The evidence indicates that the value of in-service training is predominantly short-run in impact, and thus its cost may not be worth such a minimal long-run benefit. The State of Connecticut however, does feel that the benefit is worth the cost. Connecticut has recognized that with a new emphasis upon hiring younger, relatively highly educated persons as probation officers there is a likelihood of greater turnover in the adult probation officers ranks. They feel however that this turnover can be reduced by offering explicit training and educational assistance to the probation officer and rewarding those who involve themselves in those pursuits.[47] Leeds would agree in part, for he has advocated the view that educational and training opportunities must be made available to probation officers and valid rewards be given them for their efforts, not so much to increase the quality of the officer, but to spare the frustration which will inevitably develop among educated probation officers when an under-educated supervisor is given responsibility for their direction.[48] Schnur also concurs with this concept in part. He has identified the practice of seniority advancement as a threat to the entire concept of trained probation officers. A promotion system based on seniority and the lack of lateral entry complicate the task of promoting the most qualified personnel. The best person for the job should be selected, regardless of his years of experience, since mere experience is no guarantee that a particular individual can do a job better than someone else.[49] By the same token, a well-educated and trained man offers no guarantee that he can do a job better than someone else. The education and training may have given him the tools, but he must know how to use them in the field, and he must be willing to continue to use them.

As with pre-service education, a variety of opinion exists as to the nature of the in-service training program that would best meet the probation officer's needs. As previously noted, Schnur has stated that training and education for corrections should be training and education in corrections.[50] He might well concur with the State of Connecticut which supports the following topic areas for staff development training:[51]

(1) understanding criminal behavior

(2) socio/legal environment

(3) state laws/legal structure

(4) department of adult probation orientation

(5) 'how to' regarding probation officer duties

(6) basic personal skills needed by probation officers

(7) community resources

(8) community relations

(9) managerial skills

Edwards has strongly advocated training probation officers in the use of sensitivity training techniques. "To be more effective," Edwards has stated, "probation officers must comprehend sociological and psychological problems experienced by their clients."[52] Sensitivity training can help the probation officer to be more aware of those needs, Edwards asserts. The entire September-October 1967 edition of the American Behavioral Scientist was devoted to this group therapy training concept and presented a suggested technique for disseminating the information to probation officers and other social workers. The authors stated that a course which trains probation officers and other social workers to use group therapy training with their clients can be taught in a relatively brief fifty hour session.[53]

Beyond the issue of content a major problem that tends to confound the training issue is the organizational structure of the department. The

1975 Philadelphia project report referred to an "isolation of the training unit from the department communication network."[54] A Florida report stated that area trainers and supervisors experienced a degree of frustration because they felt the central office training unit staff obstructed their attempts to provide meaningful and innovative training.[55] The best organizational location for the training function is an unresolved issue. Large states such as California, New York and Texas have long struggled with the problems of how to organize a probation training plan which would meet the needs of officers from small, rural departments as well as those from larger, urban departments.

Two basic ideas have emerged in the past few years and both have experienced some degree of operational success. The first broad approach, which seems to be the most popular at the moment, advocates a centralized approach. Proponents of this concept, such as the states of California, Connecticut and Florida opt for a centralized training unit located in the state department of corrections with mandatory training requirements for all officers. In Florida, some problems developed because local officers with local training responsibilities felt overburdened with work and reacted negatively to divided supervision (i.e., their Chief Probation Officer and the central office training unit staff). If these problems are to be eliminated the responsibilities for personnel training in this centralized approach must be handled at all levels by personnel whose sole responsibility is training. Taylor and McEachern have advocated a national training program developed by the federal government for distribution to the line personnel through training units in the state department of corrections.[56] Taylor and McEachern realize that some degree of state and local objection to such a proposal will arise, but nevertheless back their proposal with the following points: (1) It has become increasingly important that a means be found to introduce social and behavioral science research directly into the working operations and training operations of the departments; (2) When the smaller department does invest its time and money training its officers, it is often only to lose them a year or so later to a larger department with the advantages of better pay, more facilities, and greater opportunities for advancement; (A 1956 study of California Probation officers found a very strong positive correlation ($r_s = .94$) between county size and mean level of education among probation officers. This is, the larger the county, the more educated the probation officer population tends to be.[57]) (3) It is doubtful that local probation departments will be capable of keeping pace with the magnitude and complexity of the problems they face by utilizing their own resources alone. Taylor and McEachern's plan calls for home study on the part of the probation officer, utilizing supplies such as tape casettes, movies, slides and reading materials prepared for him by the federal government.

On the other hand a decentralized training approach is advocated by Bertinot and Taylor[58] for the State of Texas, and by the NCCD for the State of Massachusetts.[59] In this plan, training is strictly voluntary, although special incentives such as tuition reimbursement, salary increases, and promotional opportunities are employed. Outside trainers are not used. Rather the officers determine their training needs and develop their own solutions to their training problems. This concept operates on the theory that adequate training resources are available on the local level. There is no training unit in the central office. The training function responsibility is vested in the local chief and assistant chief probation officer who are responsible by way of the usual chain of command to the head of the state department of corrections.

In-service training programs, regardless of their organizational location, raise a number of issues, few of which have been adequately explored. For the individual officer mandatory training programs can be extremely time-consuming. They can detract from available client time and they may compete with family and leisure time. Voluntary training programs on the other hand can create a dilemma for the officer who does not wish to participate, but feels pressured by those who do. The most difficult situation, however, may arise when in-service training is presented as an important requirement for advancement, but then ignored when promotions are made.

In-service training can also create problems for the established organization. A 1965 North Carolina study observed a definite resistance to training among probation officers, especially when the training was viewed as a threat to their established roles and work patterns. To combat such difficulties, the study called for wide flexibility in the nature and timing of the course work and stressed the need for the development of personal relationships between the trainees and the trainers.[60]

Summary

The fact that probation as a profession has failed to define its goals has and will continue to hamper any solid evaluation of the value of pre-service education and in-service training upon probation work.

The need for graduate level education and frequent in-service training has been advocated for many years. There has come to be a philosophical acceptance of formal education as a pre-requisite of quality probation service, and of in-service training as a means of maintaining and improving that service. This need has been 'documented' by several national commissions and organizations,[61] along with a score of individual writers and researchers.[62] However, our review of these works has found no empirical documentation that education can improve overall performance. Furthermore, our review has found no empirical evidence to the effect that the cost involved to the individual, the department, the clientele, and the system is worth the benefit derived. In reality, the evidence available offers no support for the traditional theory. In summary:

(1) There is no support for any connection between education and competency in the human service field.

(2) There is no indication that a graduate level education in social work is of any greater value to probation officer competency than a non-graduate level education in any field of study.

(3) There are indications that a graduate degree negatively affects probation officer opinions for the first few years on the job.

(4) There are indications that after a few years on the job probation officer philosophy and performance levels for the graduate and non-graduate are generally the same.

(5) There are indications that the effects of in-service training decrease as time on the job increases.

From this evidence, it appears that probation as a profession should proceed cautiously before adopting any firm educational standards or in-service training programs, at least until more is known concerning the aggregate impact of such plans and until probation can determine if it is getting what it wants in terms of education and training, and probation officer performance.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER VII

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[60] North Carolina University Training Center on Delinquency and Youth Crime, Probation Training: Content and Method, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, 1956).

[61] For example, see: President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, Task Force Report: Corrections (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967) p. 100; American Bar Association, Standards Relating to Probation (Washington, D.C.: American Bar Association, Standards for Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, A National Strategy to Reduce Crime (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973) p. 192.

[62] For example, see: Joseph J. Senna, "The Need for Professional Education in Probation and Parole" Crime and Delinquency (January 1976) pp. 67-74; Edward M. Taylor and Alexander W. McEachern, "Needs and Direction in Probation Training," Federal Probation, Vol. 30, No. 3 (March 1966)pp. 18-24; Charles L. Newman, Sourcebook on Probation, Parole, and Pardons, (Springfield, Illinois, Charles C. Thomas, 1970), and Don Loughery, "College Education, A Must for Probation Officers?" Crime and Corrections, Vol. 3, No. 1, (Spring 1975) pp. 1-7.

CHAPTER VIII

TIME STUDIES OF PROBATION

Purposes of Time Studies

Early industrial time and motion studies were an outgrowth of Frederick Taylor's principles of scientific management. Taylor's work, in the latter part of the 1800's, generated the first body of organized and explicit knowledge of management. His theories, particularly those concerning time and motion studies, were refined and expanded by other researchers such as the Gilbreths, Mayo, and Gantt. The purpose of time studies in business and industrial settings was the improvement of operating procedures in order to increase production and reduce costs.

In contrast, Miles notes that time studies have been used in social agencies to answer the following types of questions: "How many caseworkers are required to handle a specific number of cases? What are the costs of administering specific services in an agency with multiple functions? How much time do caseworkers spend in direct services to clients, compared with the amount of time devoted to such indirect activities as traveling, case recording, and office work?"[1] Thus, time studies can be useful in determining the relative administrative effort allocated to various programs within an agency, in determining the costs of the various services performed by the agency, in improving supervisory procedures and record-keeping, in time-use analyses, and in performance budgeting.

For probation and parole departments, Miles states: "Time studies provide a factual basis for the assignment of probation and parole officers' workloads, for the allocation of costs, and for further research."[2]

Time Study Considerations

Miles defines five important issues to be considered before undertaking a time study to determine how probation officers' time is allocated among various activities. These issues are sampling techniques, data collection, pretesting, study supervision, and study participation.

In a time study, a sample can be taken either of personnel or of time. A small representative sample, generally ten to twenty percent, of all personnel may be used, or all personnel in the agency may be included. The study may cover a block of time, from a week or ten days to more than a month, or may include only a number of selected non-consecutive days which are not announced to the participating personnel in advance. Miles notes that each technique has advantages and disadvantages and that practical considerations will generally be the determining factor in deciding which technique will be used. For example, it might be administratively difficult to include some officers and exclude others, particularly if the time period to be covered by the study is not known in advance. In addition, there are both clerical and supervision costs in performing a time study, and these may preclude the inclusion of all personnel or the use of a longer block of time.

Data collection is generally accomplished through reporting forms which are filled out by the participating officers. The forms are usually completed daily, and require the officers to record their activities by time intervals, frequently in six-minute (one-tenth of an hour) or fifteen-minute intervals. Participants either record their activities using their own words or select an activity category, from a pre-determined list, which best describes their actual activity. Infrequently, officers do not record their activities themselves but are observed by investigators who follow the officers through their working day, timing and recording the activities which are observed.

Because a time study involves a considerable expenditure of planning time, supervision, and effort on the part of the participants, it is important that the procedures for the study and the forms to be completed are understood by those staff members who will be participating. Therefore, Miles observes: "A pretest of the study is essential to make certain that the forms are usable, the instructions comprehensible, and the supervision adequate."[3] Pretesting the study may reveal unduly complicated forms, may show that some items on the form are easily misinterpreted, and may prove that reliable data can be gathered in a period of time which is shorter than had first been thought.

Supervision of the study is also an important issue. Miles suggests that, for a statewide study, several full-time research staff members and supervisors should be used. There is also a need for one individual in each office to be responsible for on-the-spot supervision and for the preliminary editing of the report forms. In addition to written instructions concerning the procedures of the study and the forms to be used, in-service training sessions for the personnel who will be participating in the study are also needed.

Participation in the time study need not be limited to professional probation officers. It may be appropriate also to include participation by supervisory and administrative personnel, paraprofessionals, and clerical workers.

Results of Time Studies

With these issues in mind, a number of time studies will be examined. The time studies which will be discussed were performed from 1956 to 1976, and cover county, state, and federal probation systems. Each study will be reviewed in terms of its purpose, design, and findings.

In a 1961 study,[4] Wahl and Glaser conducted a pilot time study designed to provide an accurate basis for determining the amount of time required by federal probation officers for performing both major functions (such as presentence investigations, pre-parole plans, supervision, etc.) and major tasks (such as interviewing, counseling, case recording and paperwork, travel, etc.). The federal probation officer's work is not limited to the probation function, but includes parole planning and supervision for the U.S. Board of Parole, mandatory release cases, military parole, and social service work for the U.S. Bureau of Prisons. As a result, the data presented in their findings include activities other than just those which relate to the probation function.

The study was conducted for a three-week period in the fall of 1961. During this time, thirty-one probation officers in fifteen judicial districts were asked to keep activity logs. The officers were selected in a way which would ensure that they were a representative cross-section of the types of offices within the federal probation system, e.g., rural, urban, small, and large. Both supervisory personnel and female probation officers were excluded from the study.

The data collection forms were pretested and revised. In final form, they required the officers to log their activities by six-minute intervals. Each activity was also recorded by type of case involved, nature of activity, location of activity, and purpose. The following tables illustrate the findings of this study.

TABLE 8.1

ALLOCATION OF TIME[5] BY TYPE OF CASE

Type of Case	% of Time
Presentence Investigation	33.7%
Probation	29.4
Non-Specific	18.4
Parole	11.6
Prisoner	3.4
Mandatory Release	2.3
Post-Sentence	1.1
Military Parole	0.2

These data show that the federal probation officer spends one-third of his time preparing presentence investigations (33.7 percent). When all supervision related activities are added together (probation, parole, mandatory release, and military parole), it appears that the probation officer spends slightly more of his time (43.5 percent) on supervision. Activities which could not be attributed to a specific type of case accounted for 18.4 percent of the officer's time. This category included such activities as mail, monthly reports, travel logs, staff meetings, administrative duties, in-service training, community relations, and coffee breaks.

TABLE 8.2

ALLOCATION OF TIME
TO TYPES OF CASES BY LOCATION[6]

Location/Activity	% Location Time	% Total Time
Office:		57.5%
Presentence Investigation	30.8%	
Probation	26.3	
Non-Specific	26.0	
Parole	10.0	
Other	6.9	
Field:		39.3
Presentence Investigation	36.1	
Probation	34.7	
Non-Specific	6.7	
Parole	14.5	
Other	8.0	
Court:		3.2
Presentence Investigations	55.4	
Probation	17.6	
Non-Specific	23.5	
Parole	3.0	
Other	0.5	

As Table 8.2 indicates, the probation officer spends more than half his time (57.5 percent) in his office. Of this time, 30.8 percent is spent in activities related to presentence investigations and 39.5 percent is devoted to supervision activities. Another significant block of time (26 percent) is spent on non-specific activities. In contrast, when the probation officer is working in the field, the amount of time spent on presentence investigations rises to 36.1 percent, supervision time rises to 50.9 percent, and non-specific time drops to 6.7 percent. Over half of the officers' court time (55.4 percent) is spent in activities related to the presentence investigation, while 23.5 percent of his time is not related to a specific case, i.e., "waiting" time.

TABLE 8.3

ALLOCATION OF TIME
BY TYPE OF WORK BY TYPE OF CASE[7]

Type of Work	PSI	Probation	Parole, MR, Military	Other	% of Total Time
Counseling	3.0%	47.1%	40.2%	3.1%	21.2%
Administrative	4.2	3.5	2.3	55.7	15.5
Report Writing	22.8	12.3	11.9	4.5	14.0
Giving Information	12.3	10.2	15.0	7.0	10.9
Case Review	12.8	6.6	4.8	3.5	7.7
Initial Interview	15.0	2.2	5.9	1.5	6.9
Home Investigation	4.0	5.8	6.2	4.4	4.9
Job Investigation	3.6	4.0	6.0	2.4	3.8
Other	22.3	8.3	7.7	17.9	15.1

Wahl and Glaser note that, although the probation officers' job is usually assumed to be concentrated on working with their individual clients, table 8.3 shows that only 21.2 percent of the officers' total working time is devoted to client counseling, and another 6.9 percent to the initial interview with the client. In contrast, paperwork (including report writing, case review, and administrative activities) accounts for 37.2 percent of the officers' time. The relatively large block of time (15.1 percent) devoted to "other" activities was explained by the authors as containing the activity of "getting information" which was not included on the original activity log as a possible choice. Since a great deal of presentence investigation time is spent getting information from employers, friends, and others, the omission of this activity as a separate category also explains the 22.3 percent of the presentence activity time recorded as "other."

TABLE 8.4

ALLOCATION OF TIME
BY TYPE OF ACTION BY LOCATION[8]

Action	Office	Field	Other	% Total Time
Personal Interview	30.7%	52.2%	51.1%	39.8%
Paperwork	54.2	4.5	3.2	33.1
Travel	1.0	38.3	2.4	15.7
Telephone	9.5	0.6	---	5.7
Other	3.6	1.6	8.5	3.0
Waiting	0.4	2.3	34.1	2.3
Non-working	0.5	0.3	0.7	0.4

As shown by Table 8.4, paperwork is the dominant activity of the probation officers' office time. Personal interviews which are case-related account for less than one-third (30.7 percent) of the officers' office time. In contrast, over half the officers' field time (52.2 percent) is spent in personal interviews, while another significant amount of time (38.3 percent) is spent in travel. The personal interview activity which accounts for 51.1 percent of the officers' court time refers to the court presentation of the presentence report and testimony regarding revocation. Over one-third of the officers' court time (34.1 percent) is spent waiting.

Several aspects of the way in which federal probation officers spend their time are apparent from the data collected during the course of this study. First, probation officers spend more than half of their working time in their offices, and more than half of their office time is spent on paperwork. Second, personal interviews account for almost two-fifths of their working time and more than half of their field time. Travel also accounts for almost two-fifths of the officers' field time. Wahl and Glaser note that the time which probation officers must spend on paperwork, traveling, or waiting places severe limitations on the amount of time available for other probation activities. They state:

> The idea that the probation officer can use all his working time for investigation, or counseling, or job or home placement is a fallacy. The hidden (perhaps on the surface) nonproductive activities are part and parcel of his job and must be taken into account when budget estimates are presented or when consideration is given to what kind of a probation service is needed, or more important, wanted.[9]

Another study of the way in which federal probation officers' time is distributed among the various responsibilities of the officers was conducted by the Federal Judicial Center.[10] In this study, a sample of 104 officers was drawn from the 640 federal probation officers in active service at the end of 1972. The sample was selected to ensure a representative cross-section of the varying sizes of probation offices in which the officers might work. Activity logs were kept by the participating officers from January 10, 1973 through February 6, 1973. Officers reported the total amounts of time spent on each activity, which was itemized on the time sheet. Again, under the federal probation system, probation officers deal not only with probation cases, but also with parole, mandatory release, and military parole.

Activities were grouped into general categories and displayed by the location of the activity. The findings of the study are presented below.

TABLE 8.5

ALLOCATION OF TIME
BY ACTIVITY AND LOCATION[11]

Activity	Office	Field	Court/Other	% Total Time
Supervision	16.7%	10.3%	1.6%	28.6%
(Probation)	(11.4)	(7.0)	(1.2)	(19.6)
(All Others)	(5.3)	(3.3)	(.35)	(9.0)
Investigation	20.7	9.4	3.3	33.4
(PSI)	(16.1)	(2.7)	(7.1)	(25.9)
(All Others)	(4.59)	(2.31)	(.60)	(7.5)
Non-Case Related	27.0	3.8	7.2	38.0
(Administration)	(24.6)	(1.7)	(5.5)	(31.8)
(General Prep.)	(1.6)	(1.0)	(1.28)	(3.9)
Total	64.4	23.5	12.1	100.0

These findings show that the activities requiring the largest portion of the probation officers' working time (38.0 percent) are those which are not related to any specific case, although the activities in this category may be closely related to the officer's work with his caseload as a whole. The sub-category of administration which accounts for 31.8 percent of the officers' time includes both routine administrative duties as well as program development. These activities include such case-related tasks as development of employment opportunities for released offenders, promotion of vocational training opportunities, staff conferences, and promotion of strong contacts with court personnel, police and other providers of support services. The sub-category of general preparation includes training, professional meetings, and other activities which are related to the maintenance of professional competence. As would be expected, most of the time spent on non-case related activities is spent in the probation officer's office.

One-third of the probation officers' time (33.4 percent) is devoted to investigation activities, with the bulk of investigation time spent on presentence investigations. Again, most of the investigation activities are conducted in the probation officer's own office.

The remaining portion of the probation officers' time (28.6 percent) is spent in supervision, with the largest portion of this time given to the supervision of probationers. Almost two-thirds of the officer's supervision time is spent in his own office.

As can be seen from these findings, the federal probation officer spends almost two-thirds of his time (64.4 percent) in his office. The largest portion of this office time is spent on non-case related activities. Less than one-fourth (23.5 percent) of his time is spent in the field, with the bulk of this time devoted to supervision (10.3 percent) and investigation (9.4 percent).

The 1973 Federal Judicial Center time study was replicated in 1975 by the Division of Probation of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts.[12] The participants in this study were a random sample of 139 probation officers. The data were gathered in the same manner as the 1973 Federal Judicial Center study, which required the participants to record the total amount of time spent on each activity itemized on the time sheet. Data covered the period of October 29, 1975 through November 25, 1975.

The recorded activities were grouped into three general categories: non-case related time, investigation time, and supervision time. In the 1975 study, however, supervision time was divided into "face-to-face" supervision and was further divided by the level of supervision (minimum, medium, maximum) assigned to clients. Data were not recorded which indicated the location (office, field, court/other) of the activity.

The findings of the 1975 study were presented as interval estimates of the amount of time spent by probation officers on each activity. The interval estimates were used in order to correct for potential error which might occur in generalizing the time allocations for probation officers as a whole from the data generated by a small sample of the probation officer population. The computation of interval estimates allows one to say with 95 percent confidence that the true value for the entire population is contained within the interval estimate. The findings are presented below.

The data in Table 8.6 show that the amount of time spent by the probation service in supervision activities is within the interval of 34.7-41.6 percent. When administrative staff are excluded and only probation officers are considered, this figure rises to 30.9-45.3 percent of the officers' time. Within the sub-categories of supervision activities, the time allocations for probation officers remain similarly higher.

TABLE 8.6

ALLOCATION OF TIME[13] BY ACTIVITY

Activity	Probation Officers/ Administrators	Probation Officers Only
Supervision	34.7-41.6%	39.0-43.5%
Face-to-face	12.7-16.0	14.5-17.7
Other	21.5-26.1	23.8-28.2
Minimum Face-to-face	2.5- 3.9	2.4- 4.4
Minimum Other	4.2- 6.2	4.6- 6.8
Medium Face-to-face	5.8- 7.9	6.5- 8.8
Medium Other	9.9-13.0	11.0-14.3
Maximum Face-to-face	3.4- 5.2	3.8- 5.8
Maximum Other	5.8- 8.4	6.2- 9.1
Investigation	26.0-31.4	27.1-32.8
Presentence	15.3-20.1	16.7-21.8
Selective	.8- 1.7	.9- 1.9
Other	8.9-11.2	7.7-10.8
Non-Case Related	29.7-37.0	23.3-28.0
Administrative	20.9-27.7	15.1-18.8
General Preparation	5.1- 8.0	4.7- 7.8
Community Relations	1.8- 3.3	1.6- 3.2

The probation force as a whole devotes less than one-third of its time to investigation activities (26.0-31.4 percent). Again, this figure rises when administrative personnel are excluded (to 27.1-32.8 percent). Work on the presentence investigation accounts for a large share of the time devoted to investigation (15.3-20.1 percent, for the force as a whole, 16.7-21.8 percent for probation officers only).

The amount of time given to non-case related activities is within the interval of 29.7-37.0 percent, however, this figure drops to 23.3-28.0 percent when administrative staff are excluded. This difference can be explained by the large difference in amount of time given to administrative duties--20.9-27.7 percent for all personnel and 15.1-18.8 percent for probation officers only.

Carter conducted a time study for the Washington State Office of Probation and Parole in 1970.[14] The study was designed to provide information useful for administration, planning, budgeting, personnel matters, and training. All Office of Probation of Parole personnel reported their activities in detail during six separate weeks of recording. The activities were reported by the type of case, location of activity, kind of activity, and type of contact involved. It should be noted that this study was concerned with the activities of both probation and parole officers. The results of the time study for probation and parole officers only (excluding administrative and supervisory personnel) are presented below.

TABLE 8.7

ALLOCATION OF TIME[15]
BY TYPE OF CASE

Type of Case	% of Time
Presentence	7.7%
Probation	24.5
Parole/ All Others	22.8
Not for Specific Case	45.0

These findings show that almost half of the officers' time (45 percent) is not related to a specific case. The activities which fall into this category include group meetings, general correspondence, staff meetings, etc. Probation cases and presentence investigations account for less than one-third (32.2 percent) of the officers' time.

TABLE 8.8

ALLOCATION OF TIME
BY LOCATION OF ACTIVITY[16]

Location	% of Time
Office	49.6%
Field	28.5
Court	3.0
Jail/Other	18.9

As Table 8.8 indicates, the probation or parole officer spends almost half of his working time (49.6 percent) in his office. Less than one-third (28.5 percent) of his time is spent in the field.

The findings presented in Table 8.9 show that officers spend a significant portion of their time (28.3 percent) on paperwork. This category includes the organization, dictation, writing, and review of paperwork. Counseling activities, which account for 13.9 percent of the officers' working time, include individual and group counseling and revocation matters. The process of information receipt and transmission takes up 14.6 percent of the officers' time, and receiving and giving professional training accounts for 13.0 percent of the officers' time.

TABLE 8.9

ALLOCATION OF TIME BY TYPE OF ACTIVITY[17]

Activity	% of Time
Paperwork	28.3%
Counseling	13.9
Travel	8.7
Getting/Giving Information	14.6
Getting/Giving Training	13.0
Other	19.0
Non-Work	2.5

TABLE 8.10

ALLOCATION OF TIME BY TYPE OF CONTACT[18]

Contact	% of Time
Subject	18.2%
Family/relatives/employer	5.6
Criminal justice system officials	9.5
Probation/parole staff	9.3
Others	17.3
Not in contact with anyone	40.1

As indicated by Table 8.10, probation and parole officers are by themselves approximately two-fifths of their working time (40.1 percent).

Less than one-fifth of their time (18.2 percent) is spent in direct contact with their clients. The remainder of their time is spent in contact with other probation and parole staff members, various criminal justice system officials, such as police, prosecutors, judges, and state officials, and organized community groups.

Carter also compiled data for administrative and supervisory personnel by type of function performed, location of activity, type of activity, and type of contact. These data are presented below.[19]

TABLE 8.11

ALLOCATION OF TIME
BY TYPE OF FUNCTION[20]

Function	% of Time ($\bar{X}$)
Administration/Staff Supervision	50.0%
Preparole, Interstate Cases, Community Coordination	20.5
Training	9.3
All Others	20.2

These findings show that administrative and supervisory functions dominate, as would be expected.

TABLE 8.12

ALLOCATION OF TIME
BY LOCATION OF ACTIVITY[21]

Location	% of Time ($\bar{X}$)
Office	63.4%
Field	19.5
All Other	17.1

Administrative and supervisory personnel spend almost two-thirds of their working time (63.8 percent) in the office. In contrast, line officers spend slightly less than half of their time (49.6 percent) in the office.

TABLE 8.13

ALLOCATION OF TIME BY TYPE OF ACTIVITY[22]

Activity	% of Time ($\bar{X}$)
Paperwork	26.2%
Staff and Case Supervision	9.4
Planning/Waiting/Travel/Reading	15.1
Formal Meetings	10.4
Getting/Giving Information or Training/Public Relations/ Informal Meetings/Non-Work	38.9

Table 8.13 indicates that administrative and supervisory personnel spend significant portions of their working time on paperwork (26.2 percent), receiving and transmitting information and training, informal meetings, and public relations (38.9 percent). Comparatively little time (9.4 percent) is spent on staff or case supervision.

As the data in Table 8.14 show, administrative and supervisory personnel are by themselves more than two-fifths of their working time (42.0 percent). This figure is very close to the 40.1 percent of the line officers' time when they were not in contact with anyone. The remainder of administrators' and supervisors' working time is spent primarily in contact with other professional probation and parole staff, and with representatives of other criminal justice system agencies.

TABLE 8.14

ALLOCATION OF TIME
BY TYPE OF CONTACT[23]

Type of Contact	% of Time ($\bar{X}$)
Probation and Parole Professional Staff	32.8%
Other Criminal Justice System Personnel, Others	25.2
Not in contact with anyone	42.0

In December of 1975, the Virginia Division of Probation and Parole Services conducted a time study of all probation and parole officers in the twenty-three district offices in the state.[24] All officers in Virginia serve both their local judges as probation officers and the Virginia Parole Board as parole officers; consequently, parole-related activities were included in the findings. The officers reported all their activities, in fifteen-minute time intervals, for the month of December, 1975, by recording the activity code which corresponded to their actual activities. Time allotments were computed for the Division of Probation and Parole Services as a whole, and for area administrators separately, by collapsing the activities into major categories.

The results of the Virginia time study are presented below.

TABLE 8.15

ALLOCATION OF TIME
BY ACTIVITY
DIVISIONAL AVERAGE[25]

Activity	% of Time[26]
Investigation	19%
(PSI)	(15)
Travel	12
Supervision	26
(Probation face-to-face)	(6)
(Probation other)	(12)
Other	43
(Non-Working Time)	(23)

These findings show that almost half of the division staff's time (43 percent) was devoted to activities classified as "other." The activities include staff meetings, training, administrative duties, public relations duties, and non-working time. Almost one-fourth of the total working time (23 percent) was spent in non-work related activities. Slightly more than one-fourth of the working time (26 percent) was spent in supervision of cases, with the bulk of that time (18 percent of total time) devoted to probation supervision. Investigatory activities accounted for 19 percent of the total working time, with most of that time (15 percent of total time) spent on presentence investigations.

TABLE 8.16

ALLOCATION OF TIME
BY ACTIVITY
AREA ADMINISTRATORS[27]

Activity	% of Time
Investigation	4%
(Parole/Pardon)	(2)
(PSI)	(1)
Travel	15.5
Supervision	6.5
(Probation)	(4.5)
Other	74
(Non-Working Time)	33

As indicated by these data, administrators devote almost three-fourths of their working time (74 percent) to staff meetings, training, administration, public relations, and non-work related activities. These non-work related activities consume 33 percent of the administrators' total working time. Supervision and investigation take up relatively small portions (4 percent and 6.5 percent) of the administrators' time.

The earliest time study located was conducted in 1956 by the Contra Costa County (California) Probation Department.[28] The study was to provide information on the average time required to perform various probation tasks in order to develop a workload system.

The time study, done in March of 1956, required the completion of daily activity logs and time summary sheets. Thirty-one adult and juvenile probation officers participated in the study. Activities were recorded in fifteen-minute intervals. The findings are shown below.

TABLE 8.17

ALLOCATION OF TIME[29]
BY MAJOR FUNCTION

Function	% of Time
Supervision	53.5%
Investigation	31.2
(PSI)	(22.1)
All Others	15.3
Non-working Time)	(3.9)

These findings show that the majority of the probation officers' time (53.5 percent) is spent on supervision-related activities. Investigations account for less than one-third of the officers' time, with presentence investigations taking up a large portion of that time (22.1 percent of total working time). Activities in the "other" category include conferences, staff meetings, community service, and non-work related activities. This non-working time accounts for 3.9 percent of the officers' total working time.

The data presented in Table 8.18 indicate that slightly more than one-fourth of the probation officers' time (26.4 percent) is spent in personal contacts. Routine office work accounts for 22.2 percent of the officers' working time, and 18.9 percent is taken up by travel.

TABLE 8.18

ALLOCATION OF TIME[30] BY ACTIVITY

Activity	% of Time
Personal Contact	26.4%
Phone Contact	4.3
Collateral Contact	10.3
Conferences	8.6
Court Hearings	1.9
Office Work	22.2
Travel	18.9
Waiting	3.5
Non-Working Time	3.9

This 1956 study was replicated by the Contra Costa County Probation Department in 1959.[31] The replication study had a similar purpose and utilized a similar methodology. Again, data were gathered to measure the average amount of time necessary to complete an individual function and the amounts of time spent in the various activities performed for each function.

TABLE 8.19

ALLOCATION OF TIME[32] BY MAJOR FUNCTION

Function	% of Time	% of Time - Adult Division only
Investigation	34.3%	31.7%
Supervision	50.5	51.6
All Others	15.1	16.7

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These data show that probation officers spend slightly more than half of their time (50.5 percent) on supervision activities and approximately one-third of their time (34.4 percent) on investigations. A comparison of time allocations between all probation officers and adult probation officers only reveals very little difference in the distribution of time among major functions. A comparison between these data and the 1956 data shows that there was almost no change in allocation of working time to major functional areas.

TABLE 8.20

ALLOCATION OF TIME[33]
BY ACTIVITY

Activity	% of Time
Personal Contact	26.6%
Phone Contact	3.3
Collateral Contact	8.6
Conferences	7.2
Court Hearings	1.7
Office Work	22.3
Travel	14.1
No Contact	.9
Miscellaneous	15.3

A comparison of these activity time allocations with the 1956 allocations shows that the time distributions remained remarkably constant. The amount of time spent in travel did decrease, from 18.9 percent in 1956 to 14.1 percent in 1959, and the amount of time devoted to "miscellaneous" activities increased from 7.4 percent (for waiting and non-working time) in 1956 to 15.3 percent in 1959.

A time study was conducted in Oregon in 1972 to provide data to develop a case management system and to improve the system for budgeting probation and parole officers.[34] Data were gathered by a management analyst who observed, timed, and classified the probation and parole officer's activities. The study identified twenty-eight activities performed by the officers. These activities were then grouped into major function clusters. The findings of the study are presented below.

TABLE 8.21

ALLOCATION OF ACTIVITIES[35]
BY FUNCTION CLUSTER

Cluster	% of Activities
Supervision	26%
Investigation	19
Administration	52
Revocations/Hearings	3

As these findings show, more than half (52 percent) of the activities in which the officers were engaged were related to the performance of various administrative duties. Slightly more than one-fourth (26 percent) of the identified activities were related to the supervision, counseling, and surveillance of clients.

The study also found that, by the total amount of time devoted by the officers to the tasks identified in the study, 27 percent of the field officers' time was spent in actual face-to-face contact with either the client or with others connected with his case. One-fourth (25 percent) of the activities in which the officers were engaged were related to contacts with the client or with other individuals connected with the case.

Although time studies presented in Table 8.22 varied widely in terms of design and data presentation, a very rough comparison of their findings can be made. For the purposes of this comparison, the findings of seven of the studies have been collapsed into five major activity categories: investigation, presentence investigation (which is frequently included in the total investigation figure), supervision, travel, and other. The activities included in each of these categories was roughly similar across the studies.

As can be seen from Table 8.22, the percentages of time spent on investigations tend to cluster around the level of one-third of total working time, with the exception of the Washington State and Virginia figures. For purposes of this comparison, the figures which cover presentence investigations only will be considered as investigation time.

With respect to supervision time, the figures cluster around the two-fifths to one-half of working time level. The exceptions to this clustering are the Federal Judicial Center study and the Virginia study.

The category of "other" activities shows no clustering tendency, with figures ranging from 15.1 percent in the second Contra Costa County study to 45 percent in the Washington State study.

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TABLE 8.22

COMPARISON OF TIME ALLOCATIONS

Author/ Level Activity	Wahl and Glaser	Federal Judicial Center	Administrative Office of the Courts	Carter	Virginia	Contra Costa #1	Contra Costa #2
	Federal %	Federal %	Federal %	State %	State %	County %	County %
Investigation		33.4	21.7-32.8		19	31.2	34.4
Presentence Investigation	33.7	(25.9)	(16.7-21.8)	7.7	(15)	(22.1)	
Supervision	43.5	28.6	39.0-45.3	47.3	26	53.5	50.5
Travel					12		
Other	22.8	38.0	23.3-28.0	45.0	43	15.3	15.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Personnel Budget Study

A different type of time study was conducted in 1965 by the San Bernadino County (California) Probation Department.[36] The study was done to provide accurate management data which would allow the department to calculate the personnel necessary to cope with the probation workload assigned by the court. This research did not utilize the detailed reporting of officers' actual time spent on an identified activity, but relied on computed "expected completion times" for each task. It is possible, however, for a department which has collected actual time distributions to substitute these values for the "expected completion times" in the formulas in order to utilize the remainder of the design.

The system used in San Bernadino County consists of six elements:

1. The various activities which comprise the work to be done must be analyzed and carefully defined.
2. The time necessary to complete the required work must be measured.
3. The time actually available to the staff in which to do the required work must be measured.
4. The required work, time necessary, and time available are translated into staffing needs for the department.
5. Continuous up-dating of the system elements provides useful management information.
6. This management information is used to generate and refine general staffing policies.

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The definition of activities involves the preparation of a written statement of the exact nature of the tasks, presented in sufficient detail to permit accurate measurement of the time required to do the tasks.

As mentioned above, the actual time allotments for various activities were not collected; rather, "expected completion time" figures were used. Using work units of .5 hours each as a base, expected completion times for each defined task were computed by means of the formula from IBM's Program Evaluation and Review Technique (PERT) and GE's critical path method. The formula is:

$$T_e = \frac{a + 4m + b}{6}$$

T_e = expected completion time

a = shortest time required by a competent, experienced person to complete the task

b = longest time required by a competent, experienced person to complete the task

m = probable amount of time required to complete the task

Once the expected completion times are computed, or the actual time allotments are discovered, for each activity, the relevant activities are then grouped into major functions. For example, all the activities relevant to adult investigations are presented below, along with the expected completion time for each activity.

Activity	T_e
1. Conference with supervisor at initial assignment	.5
2. Reading arrest report, transcript, contact with prosecuting attorney	2.5

Activity	T_e
3. Searching prior record	1.0
4. Initial interview with client	3.0
5. Interview with attorney	1.0
6. Collateral interview	3.0
7. Secondary client interview	1.0
8. Conference with supervisor before dictating report	1.0
9. Notes, dictation, financial orders	5.0
10. Emergency interviews, etc.	2.0
TOTAL	20.0

Adding the expected completion times for each activity yields an expected completion time of twenty work units (ten hours) for each adult investigation. Similar computations can be done for supervision and other activities which probation officers need to perform. However, because all cases do not require the same level of probation officer time and attention, they cannot be considered equal in their effect on the department's caseload. Therefore, cases can be classified by the amount of effort which must be devoted to each type of case (e.g., minimum, regular, and maximum supervision), and the expected completion times for each activity can be weighted according to the type of case involved.

It is necessary also to compute the time actually available to the staff in which to do the work required of the probation department. The San Bernadino County Department used a base figure of 150 hours per month per officer. This figure allows for non-working days, holidays, vacation and sick leave, and lunch hours. Using the work unit formula, this figure is translated into 300 available work units per month per officer.

Once the determination has been made of the tasks to be accomplished, the time required to perform the tasks, and the time available to the staff, these values can be utilized with the following staffing formula:

$$S = \frac{T \times ut}{NP}$$

S = Staff needed

T = total number of like tasks

ut = number of work units allowed for each task

NP = normal production capability (available work units) of one officer

This formula can be used in several ways. It can compute the number of officers required to perform a given number of tasks, or it can calculate the number of similar tasks which one officer can perform in a given time period, or it can figure the combination of different tasks which one officer can perform in a given time period. For example, using the twenty-unit figure for one adult investigation as computed above, the formula shows the following:

$$1 \text{ officer} = \frac{15 \text{ investigations} \times 20 \text{ work units per investigation}}{300 \text{ units per officer}}$$

$$= \frac{300}{300}$$

$$= 1$$

The total workload of the department can be calculated by summing the products of the T x ut values for all activities performed by the department. The staff time available to perform these tasks is computed by multiplying the number of probation officers by 300. The San

Bernadino County Probation Department also uses Probationary Officers (who have less than three months experience) and Trainees. Probationary Officers are expected to handle 200 units per month and Trainees 150 units per month. For caseload management purposes, supervisors are expected to handle 260 units of case-connected time per month.

The determination of the total department workload shows the total staff necessary to cope with the amount of work which must be done. Comparison of necessary staff and available staff may show a perfect 1:1 ratio, indicating that the available staff can adequately cope with the department's workload. However, the number of work units of required work may exceed the number of work units available given the current number of staff members. If, for example, the number of workload units exceeds the available work units by 1200 units, there are a number of possible options which can be used to increase the number of available work units by 1200. First, four regular probation officers can be added to the staff (4 officers x 300 units per officer = 1200 units). Second, six probationary officers can be added (6 probationary officers x 200 units per officer = 1200 units). Third, two regular officers and four trainees can be added (2 regular officers x 300 units per officer plus 4 trainees x 150 units per trainee = 1200 units). Obviously, any combination of officers which adds 1200 more work units to the department's production capability can be used.

The San Bernadino County Probation Department developed staff and budget planning policies from these workload computations. In order to add a staff member to any section of the department, the difference between necessary work units and available work units in that section had to exceed 300 units for three consecutive months. One regular officer could be added for every 300 unit overload. A base of 260 units of overload was used to add one supervisor. If the available work units in any section exceeded the necessary work units by 300 units or more for three consecutive months, the staff of that section could be reduced. Staff reductions were handled by reassignment to another section of the department or by not filling the next position vacancy. The proposed annual budget for the department was prepared by current staff positions and projected expected positions. Once the new total staff position figure had been determined and approved in the department's final budget, it became the maximum figure for use in considering adding additional staff members.

Continuous up-dating of the data elements of the San Bernadino County system provided the department with useful and accurate management information. According to that department, such information is designed to answer the following crucial questions:

1. What have we accomplished?
2. What are we doing now?
3. What should be do in the future?
4. How fast should we do it?
5. What do we need to get it done?

In 1974, Hughes conducted a review of literature concerning probation and parole workload projects.[37] The review, done for the Wisconsin Bureau of Probation and Parole, examined the research literature regarding caseload size, specialized caseloads, offender classification, workloads, and time studies. Three time studies (the 1973 Federal Judicial Center study, Carter's 1970 study of the Washington State Office of Probation and Parole, and the 1972 Oregon study) which concerned probation were located. These studies have been reported in detail above. In order to

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determine the uses to which the time studies had been put, Hughes contacted officials of each probation agency which had conducted a time study and found "... no examples of Time Studies or Experimental Models that have resulted in operationalized workload systems."[38] He notes that the time studies which had been done prior to 1974, not limited to the three studies mentioned above, tended to be viewed as non-productive and showed only "... the different ways Probation and Parole Officers expend their time on tasks or activities in certain places, under given circumstances, and the data collected was [sic] not considered to be either evaluative or predictive."[39] He further discovered, from his discussions with probation officials, that some agencies are preferring to abandon time studies as a way of gathering data on workload distribution in favor of other approaches which attempt to analyze the functional characteristics of an individual's job rather than focusing on the way in which the individual spends his time.

CHAPTER VIII

FOOTNOTES

[1] Arthur P. Miles, "Time Studies in Probation and Parole," Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 15, No. 2 (April 1969) p. 260

[2] Ibid., p. 259.

[3] Ibid., p. 265.

[4] Albert Wahl and Daniel Glaser, "Pilot Time Study of the Federal Probation Officer's Job," Federal Probation, Vol. 27, No. 3 (September 1963) pp. 20-25.

[5] This table is a modification of Table 1, ibid., p. 21.

[6] This table is a modification of Tables 2 and 3, ibid., p. 22.

[7] This table is a modification of Table 5, ibid., p. 23.

[8] This table is a modification of Table 6, ibid., p. 24.

[9] Ibid., p. 24.

[10] Federal Judicial Center. Probation Time Study (Washington, D.C.: Federal Judicial Center, 1973).

[11] This table is a modification of Table II, ibid., p. 7.

[12] Administrative Office of the United States Courts. Probation Time Study (Washington, D.C.: Administrative Office of the United States Courts, Division of Probation, January 1976).

[13] This table is a modification of Tables "Time Distribution for Authorized Probation Force of 1543 Officers," and "Time Distribution for 1299 Probation Officers (Administrative Grades Excluded)" ibid., pp. 3-4.

[14] Robert M. Carter, Time and Motion Study of the Washington State Office of Probation and Parole, Part I: Probation and Parole Officers and Part II: Administrative and Supervisory Staff (Los Angeles, California: University of Southern California, Public Systems Research Institute, n.d.).

[15] This table is a modification of Table II, ibid, Part I, p.5.

[16] This table is a modification of Table I, ibid, Part I, p. 4.

[17] This table is a modification of Table IV, ibid, Part I, p. 9.

[18] This table is a modification of Table III, ibid, Part I, p. 7.

[19] These data were presented in three categories: Regional Administrators, District Supervisors, and Central Office Staff. The means for these three groups were combined by the research staff into grand means for all administrative and supervisory staff. There are, however, wide variations among the three groups for individual functions. The grand means were computed as follows:

$$\bar{X} = \frac{(\bar{X}_a \times n_a) + (\bar{X}_b \times n_b) + (\bar{X}_c \times n_c)}{N}$$

[20] This table is a modification of Table 2, ibid., Part II, P. 5.

[21] This table is a modification of Table 1, ibid., Part II, p. 3.

[22] This table is a modification of Table 4, ibid., Part II, p. 9.

[23] This table is a modification of Table 3, ibid., Part II, p. 7.

[24] Virginia Division of Probation and Parole Services. Results of Probation/Parole Officers Time Study (Richmond, Virginia: Department of Corrections, Division of Probation and Parole Services, June 1976).

[25] This table is a modification of Table 26, ibid., n.p. In this and succeeding tables, the non-working time category includes non-work related discussions with officials, coffee breaks, and all missing values.

[26] Data were presented by mean number of hours per day and per month devoted to each activity, based on a mean number of total working hours per month of 190.5 hours for the Division as a whole, and 193.0 hours for the area administrators. These activity means have been converted to percentages by the research staff.

[27] This table is a modification of Table 25, ibid., n.p.

[28] Contra Costa County (California) Probation Department. An Approach to Performance Budgeting for Probation Services (Martinez, California: Contra Costa County Probation Department, 1956).

[29] This table is a modification of Appendix H, ibid., p. 21.

[30] This table is a modification of Appendix I, ibid., p. 22.

[31] Contra Costa County (California) Probation Department. Time Study of Probation Services (Martinez, California: Contra Costa County Probation Department, 1960).

[32] This table is a modification of Exhibits 5.1 and 8, ibid., pp. 19 and 22.

[33] This table is a modification of Exhibit 10, ibid., p. 24.

[34] Oregon Department of Human Resources. Workload Measurement Study: Report to the Legislature (Salem, Oregon: Department of Human Resources, Corrections Division, February 1973).

[35] This table was constructed by the research staff from data found on p. 5, ibid.

[36] San Bernadino County (California) Probation Department. Work Specialization System (San Bernadino, California: San Bernadino County Probation Department, 1966).

[37] Wint Hughes, "Memorandum: Summary Report from the Research Literature on Probation and Parole Workload Projects," Wisconsin Division of Corrections, Bureau of Probation and Parole, May 1974.

[38] Ibid., p. 15.

[39] Ibid., p. 14.

CHAPTER IX

INFORMATION SYSTEMS

In 1973, the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals strongly emphasized the need for the development of an information system within the context of corrections in general.[1] A series of operational standards were also established to assist in the implementation of such a system (see appendix for a reproduction of standards 15.2 - 15.5). Our review of the literature has identified two distinct information system models. The first section of this chapter will focus upon Administrative Management Information Systems, where information is utilized for administrative decision making within the agency. The next section will focus upon Caseload Management Information Systems, where information is utilized for line level decision making.

Administrative Management Information Systems

During the spring of 1977, the probation department in a midwest city demoted its chief probation officer and eighteen subordinate probation officers for the falsification of over 3500 case reports spanning nearly three years. How had these men managed to escape detection so long before being caught? These men had apparently developed a method of beating the system. Thus, the probation department lost control over the activities of these men.

While this particular story is purely fictional, the literature concerning Administrative Management Information Systems (AMIS) accounting and auditing is full of many factual documentations of the ineffectiveness of information and control systems.[2] An Administrative Management Information Systems model in the context of probation, or of any system, serves a vital function in the maintenance of operational control. There is a large body of literature, located to a large extent in the business administration field, which is concerned with this topic.[3] When this literature is reviewed, it reveals a three-pronged function for AMIS models, which includes:

1. to control and coordinate employee behavior,
2. to provide information for long-term planning, and
3. to provide information to external groups.

A collection of individuals constitutes an organization only if there is some coordination among the activities they perform. The coordination and order created, on both a long and short term basis, out of the diverse interests and potentially different behaviors of members of agencies is largely a function of control. And control is impossible without information about what is occuring in the agency. Thus, information systems must be developed.

Argyris has pointed out that the need for an effective AMIS model is founded upon the following assumptions:[4]

1. Man is rational and motivated to maximize his economic gain.
2. Man is not a social animal.
3. Man can be treated in a standardized manner.
4. Man needs to be stimulated by management if he is to work.

While this set of assumptions about human behavior may not always precisely describe behavior known to exist, they are correct frequently enough to justify the need for an AMIS. The fact that they are not always correct merely complicates control system adoption by giving rise to dysfunctional operational impacts.

All agencies are not interested in the same information, although they may be legally required to collect certain types of data. An effective AMIS model depends upon the collection and transmission of information with respect to production, personnel, and finances, received from both line and staff personnel. The information should be reviewed in the context of both short term control and coordination and long term planning. Consider the following clarification of data needs for a full AMIS model:

FIGURE 9.1

	DATA ANALYSIS	
DATA REGIONS	Short Term Control & Coordination	Long Term Planning
Production Data: Line Personnal		
Production Data: Staff Personnel		
Personnel Data: Line Personnel		
Personnel Data: Staff Personnel		
Fiscal Data: Line Personnel		
Fiscal Data: Staff Personnel		

The exact nature of the data to be collected and considered within the framework of the above twelve data categories is a function of management and administrative attitudes at a particular point in time.

While Lawler and Rhode have recognized a great diversity among AMIS models, they do identify three important common denominators of all AMIS models, as follows:[5]

1. Similar Structural Characteristics - they all collect, store, and transmit information in a specific form and with a specific frequency to specific, usually predetermined individuals.

2. Influence Behavior - they are all designed in a way that at least attempts to assist, guide and motivate line personnel and management to make decisions and act in ways that are consistent with the overall objectives of the agency.

3. Founded Upon a Set of Assumptions - these assumptions, which were previously explored, are implicit in the design of any AMIS model.

In summary, AMIS models are instituted in organizations because managers and others feel they need information about what is going on in the organization, so they can control and coordinate both the long and short range activities of others. The need is felt most severely by managers of large agencies, since they are often far from what is going on and large agencies have the most severe coordination problems. Shutts identified such models as a means of increasing the effective delivery of probation services. He states,

> Traditional management in probation has been a disparate collection of procedures which are only loosely organized into a system. The Administrative Management System was developed in response to a need for a single, comprehensive and systematic approach to administering and managing probation services. The subsystem components of the Administrative Management System operate independently to accomplish specific organizational functions which, when united, provide a single integrated system to increase the effectiveness of a probation agency.[6]

While the benefits of an AMIS model have been developed briefly here, we must recognize the dysfunctional effects of operationalizing such a system. A large body of research suggests that information and control systems often fail to accomplish their purpose. The many cases of AMIS models causing dysfunctional behavior raises some crucial issues about the effectiveness of such a system. Numerous studies have documented the kinds of dysfunctional behavior that typically occur. Four types have received the most attention: rigid bureaucratic behavior, strategic behavior, invalid information production, and resistance.

A number of authors have identified a phenomenon, referred to as rigid bureaucratic behavior, where employees behave in ways that are appropriate in terms of AMIS model measures, but that are dysfunctional as far as the generally agreed-upon goals of the agency are concerned.[7] Consider, for example, the work of Blau.[8] He examined a social agency whose responsibility it was to serve workers seeking employment and employers seeking workers. To evaluate the line personnel, management kept records of such things as how many interviews a particular employee conducted. Management saw this activity, among others, as an instrument for the accomplishment of its objectives, and instituted a control system to be sure the interviews were being performed. As a result, the system motivated employees to perform large numbers of interviews, which did not always contribute to the organizational goal of placing workers in jobs. On the other hand, if the linkage of the required activity as an instrument for the accomplishment of agency goals is sound, the system can assure the evaluation of goal achievement and progress. In sum, employees will follow rules rigidly, oblivious to the impact upon the agency in the larger sense.

Strategic behavior involves actions designed solely to influence control system results so that they will look good for a certain short-term period.[9]

All control systems need valid data. Yet Argyris[10] has pointed out that AMIS models tend to produce valid information only for the unimportant and programmed problems. Evidence suggests that control systems produce two kinds of invalid data: invalid data about what can be done and invalid data about what has been done. The first kind of invalid data makes planning difficult, while the second makes the control of employee activities difficult. One reason for such information falsification seems to be to cover up errors or poor performance. Employees also feed invalid data to the system to make the system look bad and to discourage management from using it. Invalid data are also fed into a system simply because the system demands data that are not or cannot be collected.

Every discussion of the behavioral problems associated with AMIS models points out that they often meet strong resistance from the people who are measured and controlled, because of the perceived threat of the system. Whyte has shown how the imposition of an AMIS model can threaten individual social esteem and job security needs.[11] Pettigrew has pointed out that AMIS models can significantly change the power and status relationships in an organization.[12] Mumford and Banks have shown how such a system can alter the social structure in an agency, and with it the formal and informal communication line, status and authority hierarchy, and performance criteria.[13] Lawler and Rhode have pointed out that control systems tend to threaten intrinsic job performance satisfaction. However, while AMIS model implementation will threaten some job displacement and power loss, others favor the installation of such systems.[14] This is due, as Pettigrew found, to the fact that information control can be a source of great power in an organization. Regardless of the nature of the AMIS model of acceptance, some will gain as a result of its installation and others will lose.[15]

We must realize that a system, by definition, is a stable entity, established to standardize procedures and operations. To adjust the procedure and amend behavior is to attack the foundation of the concept of a system. Thus, resistance to any control system or AMIS model development is inevitable, and must be dealt with continually in any attempt to operationalize such a reform.

Having laid the theoretical foundation of an AMIS model or a control system, we must report that our review of the operationalization of such systems in a probation framework is disheartening. Only sporadic, incomplete attempts have been made to date to institute AMIS models. For example, in 1973 the Morris County, New Jersey Probation Department developed a prototype AMIS model for eventual adoption throughout the state. Unfortunately, the model was severely limited in scope, concerning itself with only one of the twelve data areas previously explored (see Figure 9.1), namely the short run control and coordination of line personnel production. Nevertheless, a laudable attempt was made to operationalize the basic feedback concept of the AMIS model.[16]

While there exists a deep concern for the availability and use of accurate data by line personnel, there seems to be little concern for the flow of information to and from management. A 1968 National Council on Crime and Delinquency report recognized the need for "an on-going evaluation of probation programs and practices."[17] Unfortunately, further development of this concept within the report focused solely upon production measures within an AMIS model and omitted the personnel and financial data needs. In a recent work, Hill has recognized the need for the development and institutionalization of a solid AMIS model.

The following is a summary of the basic capabilities of an AMIS model designed by Hill for correctional programs:[18]

1. Point in Time Reports - At any point in time, the system should be able to deliver routine analyses of program status. Such analyses depend on having such information in the data bank as basic population characteristics of the clientele, program definition and participants, organizational units and fiscal data. The point in time report freezes the data at some specific time so the manager will know the status of the activities under his jurisdiction.
2. Period in Time Reports - The period in time report provides a statement of flow and change over a specific period. The movements of clientele population, the amount and flow of expenditures, and occurrence rates of actions or events can be delivered periodically for review and analysis by management. Few attempt to manage operations without such reports. An AMIS model assures that the reports will be current, statistically correlated as required, and delivered on demand.
3. Notification Process - As suggested previously, an AMIS model should generate data reports for both regular and irregular delivery to management. Irregular reports are initiated automatically by conditions that vary from standards previously established for the system. Four kinds of irregular reports are of particular value: volume of assignment to programs or units varying from standard capacity, movement of any type that varies from planned movement, noncompliance with established decision criteria, and excessive process time for clientele.

The technology necessary for a system such as the one outlined above is and has been available. The National Advisory Commission cites lack of funds and a failure to perceive the usefulness of an AMIS model as the two main obstacles to its implementation to date. The National Advisory Commission does suggest, however, that the benefits to management and research easily justify the capital outlay for initiating such a system.[19] Without adequate information, agencies cannot be expected to increase their operational efficiency or effectiveness, plan intelligently, or base innovations on anything more than intuition.

In 1973, Simon noted, "the major problems of government organizations today are...problems of organizing information storage and information processing, not problems of the division of labor, but problems of the factorization of decision making. These organizational problems are best attacked at least to a first approximation, by examining the information system in abstraction from agency and departmental structure. Of course, to understand problems is not necessarily to solve them. But it is the essential first step. The new information technology that we are creating enables us to take that step."[20]

In conclusion, there appears to be a need for the installation of the AMIS model within probation administration. Such a model would facilitate increased short-term control and coordination of behavior and provide a more solid foundation with which to make long-term administrative decisions. Of course, the AMIS model itself does not guarantee success, but is rather a tool of immense value. As Shutts has noted, the personnel who operate the model are the key to its performance. "The extend of its application and success in a given agency is restricted only by the limitations of the people it serves."[21]

Caseload Management Information Systems

As previously mentioned, a Caseload Management Information System (CMIS) model involves the utilization of information for line level decision making. Its existence is vital to the maintenance of operational control over the clientele. Its structural characteristics are similar to those of an AMIS model, namely to collect, store, and transmit information in a specific form with a specific frequency to specific individuals. The functional effects of the CMIS model are to control and coordinate clientele behavior, provide information for individual line worker planning, and provide information for management use. While an AMIS model is concerned with data regarding agency level operations of production, personnel, and finances, a CMIS model focuses solely on line level operations of production.

A CMIS model must supply data for a critical set of individual decisions. For example, information is necessary for making decisions as to initial disposition of a defendant, revocation of probation, service needs of probationers, etc. As in nearly all areas of corrections, including probation, determinations are made on the basis of information from cumbersome files and records, which studies show are under-utilized and rarely read.[22]

The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals notes several benefits gained from the use of a CMIS model. "An information system can assure compliance with standards projected by agency plans and budget. Processing rates can be established for significant periods. For example, the number of presentence investigations in a probation office...can be projected as norms."[23] Once norms are established, routinization of the reporting system can develop indicators which will highlight the unacceptable variances and bring them to the manager's attention for further inquiry. While a CMIS-type information system cannot necessarily tell him to what extent his agency is achieving its goals, the manager will know whether the agency is performing the tasks and activities designed to contribute to the achievement of those goals. If the linkage of the activity as an instrument for the accomplishment of agency goals is sound, one will be a good indicator of the other, and the system can be used to assure the accurate evaluation of goal achievement. A CMIS model can and should be designed to provide data as to who participates in which program and to what extent, as well as whether all program activities are available and functional. It should also provide outcome measures which are indicators of a program's value.

As with the AMIS model, implementation of a CMIS model also has the tendency of causing dysfunctional behavior among agency employees. The same four types of dysfunctional behavior associated with AMIS models - rigid bureaucratic behavior, strategic behavior, invalid information production, and resistance - are common problems in the implementation of a CMIS model A brief explanation of each has been given in the previous section. Five additional major problems currently confront national or even statewide CMIS model development:

1. The lack of uniform intra-agency statistics.
2. The lack of a uniform intra-agency data collection format.
3. The lack of uniform intra-justice system statistics.
4. The lack of a uniform intra-justice system data collection format.
5. The lack of a macro-justice system data bank.

The National Advisory Commission has observed that much would be gained "by standardizing correctional information techniques for the entire nation, with suitable provision for the special characteristics of local legislation and practice."[24] CMIS models live or die on the basis of the timely receipt of valid information. Yet at this point there is a total lack of uniform intra-agency statistics and data collection formats. For example, statistics collected by one probation department are often totally incompatible with the statistics utilized by another probation department. In addition, an efficient CMIS model demands interface with other criminal justice agencies within the state, as well as with criminal justice agencies in other states and regions for exchange of clientele information. Yet at this point there is, again, lack of uniform statistics that can be exchanged across agencies, let alone a central data bank. The National Advisory Commission, among others, has long recognized the need for the standardization of the criminal justice statistics and data collection techniques on a nationwide basis as a first step toward the establishment of a nationwide data bank of criminal justice information.[25] The operationalization of this concept was undertaken by at least one LEAA-funded program, Project Search, which sought to develop and test prototype systems on a multistate basis.[26] The realization of this goal on a de facto basis, of course, is far from complete and, at this point, seems unattainable within the forseeable future.

A 1968 multi-state study by Rector found the information being collected and utilized by probation agencies to be insufficient for an intra-agency information system and often irrelevant to external criminal justice agencies.[27] A study of probation departments in Arizona reported finding a similar situation:

> There is a general lack of information available on almost any aspect of probation services. The few statistics that are kept by any of the counties are related more to the needs of the individual court than to any standard type of information required for the proper management of probation services. In fact, it may well be said that in raw form, the statistics of one probation department will probably be incompatible with the statistics of another department within the same county, or in other counties. This general lack of basic statistical information makes it difficult to assess the extent to which probation is used in Arizona, including the characteristics of population receiving or being denied probation.[28]

The report recommended the immediate establishment of a uniform statewide data collection format within the context of probation.[29] A multi-state study which examined information system needs within probation departments also identified the lack of relevant data and the profusion of irrelevant information as a major stumbling block to the establishment of a solid CMIS model.[30]

The feasibility of a national uniform information system was tested in 1968 when twenty-two city, county, and state probation departments from various regions of the country collected and subsequently transmitted data in a uniform manner to the National Council on Crime and Delinquency Research Center for analysis. The project found that "uniform data can be collected simultaneously from a number of probation agencies, and that information useful to the field can be generated from these data."[31]

In 1973, the Dallas County, Texas Probation Department operationalized a CMIS model, and has since attempted to interface this system not only with all local criminal justice agencies, but with the Uniform Crime Report system and the Texas State Criminal Justice information system. In addition, it has the capability of interfacing with other county probation information systems as they are developed in the state. In

1971, the Bay Area Counties in California developed a CMIS model. An in-house analysis of the success of the project to date states, "Based upon the variations in size, program emphasis and client population of the participating agencies, this model provides a base sufficient for statewide and probably nationwide, application."[32]

A 1970 Project Search grant undertaken in New York produced a manual which outlines the rudiments of a complete CMIS model and the procedures necessary for the model's implementation.[33] Particular attention is given to the intra-criminal justice system data exchange necessary for a solid CMIS model. While the document focused upon New York state, it is of sufficient quality and comprehensiveness that it deserves the consideration of all probation agencies that desire to implement a full CMIS model. Unfortunately, the Division of Probation in the State of New York has not operationalized these recommendations, and to date relies upon county operated probation agencies to manually collect and transmit various pieces of probation data. Limited caseload statistics are sent to Albany and New York City for entry into a computerized central data bank. Officials are currently planning for a 1979 implementation of the Offender Based Transaction Statistics Project, where uniform criminal justice data from all relevant criminal justice agencies will be fed into a computerized data bank.

Even on the assumption that a uniform data collection system can be implemented on a nationwide basis, it would still be vulnerable to misinformation, since some data are drawn from unreliable sources, while other data are susceptible to incorrect coding. The human fallibility variable must be minimized as much as possible. To reduce this error

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potential beyond the collection and coding phase and to facilitate accurate information storage and prompt information transfer, the National Advisory Council has suggested the adoption of computer technology.[34]

A 1963 study by the state of Wisconsin underscored the advantage of record computerization, finding that the preparation, maintenance, and use of case records to conduct analyses placed a tremendous burden upon the staff workload. The study concluded that while agencies could benefit from caseload analyses, such scrutiny demanded a "streamlining of the records."[35] Of course, computerization of caseload records would also lend itself to the ultimate goal of a nationwide data bank of standardized data, since computerized information could be fed into a central system on a regular basis by way of the telephone. In advancing this computerization concept, however, the National Advisory Commission cautions, "Administrators must protect the system from unauthorized access. Interfaces with other criminal justice data banks must be maintained. But maintenance of security in handling sensitive materials should discourage interfaces with systems outside criminal justice or responses to queries from any but specifically authorized persons and agencies. Precaution should be taken to protect files and equipment from intrusion."[36]

While the realization of a uniform criminal justice system data collection format and macro information system is still a distant probability, individual agencies would do well to concentrate on the development of such a system on a local level. This is to suggest an internal evaluation of intra-agency data collection uniformity, and the development of a computerized information storage and transfer system. Of course, the CMIS model itself does not guarantee success, but is rather a tool of immense value. As Shutts has noted, the personnel who operate the model are "the key to its performance." The extent of its application and success in a given agency is restricted only by the limitations of the people it serves.[37]

Summary

In our review of information systems, we have seen that there are at least two identifiable types of systems which can be used simultaneously by a single probation agency. The most comprehensive type of system is the Administrative Management Information System. The AMIS model serves three important functions for administrative decision-making within the agency: control and coordination of employee behavior, supply of information crucial to long-range planning, and provision of information about the agency to external groups. The AMIS model collects information regarding production, personnel, and finances on an agency level. Ideally, the information gathered and the collection format used by a local probation agency would be compatible with other local probation agencies within a given jurisdiction and with other criminal justice agencies.

The Caseload Management Information System utilizes information for internal line level decision-making. The functions served by the CMIS are: control and coordination of the clients served by the agency, provision of information for line level decisions and planning, and provision of information for management use. The information gathered and the collection format should be standardized throughout the agency so that the information obtained through the CMIS can become part of the information base used in the AMIS.

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Several research reports have indicated that the information currently being collected by probation agencies is not sufficient for the development of an intra-agency information system and is not compatible with information collected by other probation agencies or other criminal justice agencies. Furthermore, the prototype information systems which have been developed for statewide and nationwide use, while demonstrably feasible, have not been implemented. One of the most significant results of the inadequacy of currently-used information systems is the total lack of probation statistics for the nation as a whole, and frequently on a statewide level as well. Consequently, we have no way of knowing such important things as how many individuals are currently on probation in the United States (or, for that matter, how many individuals are on probation in some states or counties), what the differences are (on a national, state, or local basis) between offenders sentenced to probation and offenders sentenced to prison, or how successful probation supervision is with respect to reducing criminal behavior when compared to alternative sentencing dispositions. A systematic effort designed to collect nationwide probation statistics comparable to the Federal Bureau of Investigation's uniform crime statistics or the Department of Justice's prisoner statistics would appear to be necessary, valuable, and feasible.

Appendix 9A

State Correctional Information Systems: Standards 15.2-15.5

National Advisory Commission (1973)

Criminal Justice Standards and Goals: Corrections

Standard 15.2

Staffing for Correctional Research and Information Systems

Each State, in the implementation of Standard 15.1, should provide minimum capabilities for analysis and interpretation of information. For all but the largest components (facilities, branch offices, programs) a small information and statistics section capable of periodic reports on the consequences of policy and decision-making will suffice. Larger components will benefit from having a professional staff capable of designing and executing special assessment studies to amplify and explicate reports generated by the information system. Staffing for research and information functions should reflect these considerations:

1. Where the component's size is sufficient to support one or more full-time positions, priority should be given to assigning an information manager who should have minimum qualifications as a statistician. The manager should have full responsibility for coordination and supervision of inputs into the system. He also should edit, analyze, and interpret all output material, preparing tables and interpretive reports as indicated.

2. Where the size of the component does not warrant the allocation of full-time positions to information and statistics, one professional staff member should be designated to perform the functions outlined above on a part-time basis.

3. The manager of the State information system should use members of his staff as training officers and technical consultants. In states where unification has not been achieved, these persons should be responsible for familiarizing county and local correctional administrative and information staff with system requirements and the advantageous use of output.

4. Other steps to achieve effective communication of information include the following:

a. Researchers and analysts should be given formal training in communication of results to administrators. Such training should include both oral and written communications.

b. The training program of the National Institute of Corrections should include a session for administrators that covers new techniques in the use of computers, information, and statistics.

c. Where feasible, management display centers should be constructed for communication of information to administrators. The center should have facilities for graphic presentation of analyses and other information.

Section 15.3

Design Characteristics of a Correctional Information System

Each State, in the establishment of its information system under Standard 15.5, should design it to facilitate four distinct functions:

1. Offender accounting.
2. Administrative-management decision-making.
3. Ongoing departmental research.
4. Rapid response to ad hoc inquiries.

The design of the correctional information system should insure capability for provision of the following kinds of information and analysis:

1. Point-in-time net results--routine analysis of program status, such as:
    a. Basic population characteristics.
    b. Program definition and participants.
    c. Organizational units, if any.
    d. Personnel characteristics.
    e. Fiscal data.

2. Period-in-time reports--a statement of flow and change over a specified period for the same items available in the point-in-time net results report. The following kinds of data should be stored:
    a. Summary of offender events and results of events.
    b. Personnel summaries.
    c. Event summaries by population characteristics.
    d. Event summaries by personnel characteristics.
    e. Fiscal events summarized by programs.

3. Automatic notifications--the system should be designed to generate exception reports for immediate delivery. Four kinds of exception reports are basic:
    a. Volume of assignments to programs or units varying from a standard capacity.
    b. Movement of any type that varies from planned movement.
    c. Noncompliance with established decision criteria.
    d. Excessive time in process.

4. Statistical-analytical relationships--reports of correlations between certain variables and outcomes, analysis of statistical results for a particular program or group of offenders, etc.

Standard 15.4

Development of Correctional Data Base

Each State, in the establishment of its information system under Standard 15.1, should design its data base to satisfy the following requirements:

1. The information-statistics functions of offender accounting, administrative decision-making, ongoing research, and rapid response to questions should be reflected in the design.

2. The data base should allow easy compilation of an annual statistical report, including sections on population characteristics tabulated for given points in time, a recapitulation of population movement for the full year, and an analysis of recidivism by offense and other characteristics.

3. The data base should include all data required at decision points. The information useful to corrections personnel at each decision point in the corrections system should be ascertained in designing the data base.

4. The requirements of other criminal justice information systems for corrections data should be considered in the design, and an interface between the corrections system and other criminal justice information systems developed, including support of offender-based transaction systems.

5. All data base records should be individualized and contain elements that are objectively codable by a clerk. The procedures for coding data should be established uniformly.

6. The integrity and quality of data in each record is the responsibility of the information group. Periodic audits should be made and quality control procedures established.

7. The corrections information-statistics system should be designed and implemented modularity to accomodate expansion of the data base. Techniques should be established for pilot testing new modules without disrupting ongoing operations of the system. Interactions with planners and administrators should occur before introduction and innovations.

8. Data bases should be designed for future analyses, recognizing the lag between program implementation and evaluation.

9. The results of policies (in terms of evaluation) should be reported to administrators, and data base content should be responsive to the needs of changing practices and policies to guarantee that the all-important feedback loop will not be broken.

10. The initial design of the corrections data base should recognize that change will be continual. Procedures to assure smooth transitions should be established.

Standard 15.5

State Correctional Information Systems

Each State by 1978 should develop and maintain, or cooperate with other States in the development and maintenance of, a correctional information system to collect, store, analyze, and display information for planning, operational control, offender tracing, and program review for all State and county correctional programs and agencies.

1. Statewide information systems should be feasible for the larger States. Local and central correctional components (facilities, branch offices, programs) of all sizes should be included in such systems. Regional (multistate) systems should be feasible for smaller States.

2. In all cases, the State or regional system should store local data, with access provided through terminals at various points throughout the State. Control of the system should be in the hands of participating agency representatives. Until unified correctional systems are established, admission to the system should be voluntary, but benefits should be clear enough to encourage membership. A share of the development costs should be borne by the State or regional consortium.

3. In States where data processing for the department of corrections must be done on a shared computer facility under the administration of some other agency, the programmers and analysts for the department should be assigned full-time to it and should be under the complete administrative control of the department of corrections.

4. The department of corrections should be responsible for maintaining the security and privacy of records in its data base and should allow data processing of its records only under its guidance and administrative authority. This should not be construed as prohibitive, as the department of corrections should encourage research in the correctional system and provide easy access to authorized social science researchers. (Only information that would identify individuals should be withheld.)

5. The information-statistics function should be placed organizationally so as to have direct access to the top administrators of the department. The director of the information group should report directly to the agency administrator.

6. The mission of the information-statistics function should be broad enough to assume informational and research support to all divisions within the department of corrections and to support development of an offender-based transaction system. Priorities of activity undertaken should be established by the top administrators in consultation with the director of the information system.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER IX

[1] National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, *Corrections* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973) p. 502.

[2] See: E. E. Lawler and G. J. Rhode, *Information and Control in Organizations* (Pacific Palisades, California: Goodyear, 1976); J. Dearden, "Problems of Decentralizing Profit Responsibility," *Harvard Business Review* 38 (1960) pp. 79-86; R. Beyer, *Profitability Accounting for Planning and Control* (New York: Ronald, 1963); F. J. Jasinski, "Use and Misuse of Efficiency Control," *Harvard Business Review* 34 (1956) pp. 105-112.

[3] See: Chris Argyris, *Integrating the Individual and the Organization* (New York: Wiley, 1964); T. J. Burns and G. M. Stalker, *The Management of Innovation* (London: Tavistock, 1961); E. H. Caplan, *Management Accounting and Behavioral Sciences* (Reading, Massachusetts: Adison-Wesley, 1971); A. G. Hopwood, *Accounting and Human Behavior* (London: Haymarket Publishing, 1974); E. E. Lawler, *Motivation in Work Organizations* (Monterey, California: Brooks/Cole, 1973); Douglas McGregor, *The Professional Manager* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967); L. W. Porter and E. E. Lawler, *Managerial Attitudes and Performance* (Homewood, Illinois: Irwin-Forsey, 1968); A. S. Tannenbaum, *Controls in Organizations* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968); F. W. Taylor, *The Principles of Scientific Management* (New York: Harper, 1911); V. H. Vroom, *Work and Motivation* (New York: Wiley, 1964).

[4] Chris Argyris, *Personality and Organizations* (New York: Harper, 1957).

[5] Lawler and Rhode, ibid.

[6] F. R. Shutts, "Administrative Management System - Probation's Response to Accountability," *Project Search*, Second International Symposium on Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Systems (San Francisco, California, 1974) p. 667.

[7] See: R. K. Merton, "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality," *Social Forces* 18 (1940) pp. 560-568; A. W. Gouldner, *Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy* (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1954); P. Selznick, *TVA and the Grass Roots* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1949).

[8] P. M. Blau, *The Dynamics of Bureaucracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955).

[9] C. Cammann and D. Nadler, "Fit Control Systems to Your Managerial Style," *Harvard Business Review* 54 (1976) pp. 65-72.

[10] Chris Argyris, "Management Information Systems: The Challenge to Rationality and Emotionality," *Management Science* 17 (1971) pp. 275-292.

[11] W. F. Whyte (ed.), *Money and Motivation: An Analysis of Incentives in Industry* (New York: Harper, 1955).

[12] A. Pettigrew, "Information Control as a Power Resource," *Sociology* 6 (1972) pp. 187-204.

[13] E. Mumford and O. Banks, *The Computer and the Clerk* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967).

[14] Lawler and Rhode, ibid.

[15] Pettigrew, ibid.

[16] New Jersey Administrative Office of the Courts, *Administrative Management System* (Trenton, New Jersey: Administrative Office of the Courts, Research Report No. 9, 1973).

[17] P. S. Venezia and A. W. Cohn, *Uniform Probation Reports: A Feasibility Study* (Davis, California: National Council on Crime and Delinquency, Probation Management Institute, 1968) p. 48.

[18] Harland Hill, *Correctionetics* (Sacramento, California: American Justice Institute, 1972).

[19] National Advisory Commission, ibid.

[20] H. A. Simon, "Applying Information Technology to Organizational Design," *Public Administration Review* 3 (1973) pp. 276-277.

[21] Shutts, ibid., p. 671.

[22] Arthur P. Miles, "The Utility of Case Records in Probation and Parole," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science* 56 (1965).

[23] National Advisory Commission, ibid., p. 500.

[24] National Advisory Commission, ibid., p. 502.

[25] Ibid.

[26] *Project Search* Second International Symposium on Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Systems, ibid.

[27] Milton Rector, "Adult Probation," *Crime and Delinquency* 1 (1967) p. 125.

[28] Delmar Huebner, *Probation in Arizona* (Sacramento, California: Institute for the Study of Crime and Delinquency, for the Arizona State Justice Planning Agency, n.d.) p. 35.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Venezia, ibid., p. 48.

[31] Venezia, ibid., p. 48.

[32] National Council on Crime and Delinquency, Bay Area Counties Probation Research Project Report (Davis, California: National Council on Crime and Delinquency Research Center, 1973).

[33] New York State Identification and Intelligence System, Probation and Parole Study, Special Report No. 2 (Albany, New York: State Identification and Intelligence System, Bureau of Systems Development, 1970).

[34] National Advisory Committee, ibid., p. 501.

[35] Miles, ibid., p. 313.

[36] National Advisory Committee, ibid., p. 503.

[37] Shutts, ibid., p. 671.

CHAPTER X

COST ANALYSES

Like other components of the criminal justice system, probation departments in recent years have turned to cost-benefit analysis in an effort to document the fiscal effectiveness of their programs. The reports which are reviewed in this chapter originated in Tennessee, Texas, New Mexico, and New York (Monroe County). However, before the findings of these studies are analyzed, a review of the general goals and purposes of cost-benefit analysis is in order.

In his essay on this technique, Rothenberg states that cost-benefit analysis represents a broad general approach, not a specific set of procedures, which encompasses a wide variety of methods.[1] Chapman writes that the basic idea of this approach is the attempt to decide upon the worth of a public project by adding up all the advantages to the public which accrue because of the project and then subtracting all of the disadvantages.[2] Its chief focus, therefore, is one of evaluation and the provision of decision-making information regarding the net worth of a project. Overall, cost-benefit analysis should be capable of demonstrating where society's limited resources are being directed and what can be expected in return.[3] Since the public sector can be seen as an instrumentality which enables citizens to do for themselves what they cannot do privately, cost-benefit analysis can establish some comparability between competing alternatives, and serve as an apparatus to inform society about desirable courses of action. As Rothenberg indicates, this method should enable the decision-maker to make rational choices between mutually exclusive alternatives.[4] In this case, probation might be considered as an alternative to incarceration and, therefore, the cost-benefit analysis could compare these two alternatives regarding their cost-effectiveness. As we shall see, the studies summarized in this report compare the costs of probation to either incarceration or a "special" form of probation.

However, as Nelson stresses, the researcher must be aware that the common denominator of cost-benefit analysis is dollars and cents, not recidivism, rehabilitation, or other sociological measures. Thus, this method can only give us the means of seeing the economic implications of correctional reform operations which are otherwise all too often unknown.[5]

Nelson also feels that cost-benefit analysis is a very pertinent method of analyzing alternatives to incarceration in that it attempts to combine the governmental (flow of funds to the local, state or federal governments), societal (costs and benefits affecting the personal income or accumulated wealth of society) and individual (affecting personal income or accumulated wealth of the convicted criminal and his family) points of view.[6] Nelson's summary of his model is presented in Table 10.1.

TABLE 10.1

NELSON'S CLASSIFICATION AND SPECIFICATION OF COSTS AND BENEFITS[7]

I. Governmental Point of View - those costs and benefits which affect the flow of funds of local, State, and Federal governments.

A. Costs	B. Benefits
1. Primary - those present and expected future fiscal budget dollar outlays directly attributable to a given criminal justice program.	1. Primary - those present and expected future fiscal budget cost reductions directly attributable to a given criminal justice program.
2. Secondary - those measurable and expected future direct or opportunity costs not appearing in reported fiscal budgets but directly attributable to a given criminal justice program.	2. Secondary - those measurable and expected future economic gains, other than cost reductions, directly attributable to a given criminal justice program.
3. Tertiary - those unmeasurable present and expected future costs directly attributable to a given criminal justice program.	3. Tertiary - those present and expected future gains directly attributable to a given criminal justice program.

II. Societal Point of View - those costs and benefits which affect national income or accumulated wealth of society.

A. Costs	B. Benefits
1. Primary - those present and expected future fiscal budget dollar outlays which represent a diversion of national income (wealth or services).	1. Primary - those present and expected future fiscal budget dollar gains of national income (wealth or services).
2. Secondary - those measurable present and expected future direct or opportunity costs not appearing in reported fiscal budgets.	2. Secondary - those measurable present and expected future economic gains, other than cost reductions, directly attributable to a given criminal justice program.
3. Tertiary - those unmeasurable present and expected future costs directly attributable to a given criminal justice program.	3. Tertiary - those unmeasurable gains directly attributable to a given criminal justice program.

Table 10.1

Continued

III. Individual Point of View - those costs and benefits which affect the personal income or the accumulated wealth of the convicted criminal or his or her family.

A. Costs	B. Benefits
1. Primary - those present and expected future personal or family expenditures that are increased by participation in a given criminal justice program.	1. Primary - those present and expected future personal or family expenditure reductions directly attributable to a given criminal justice program.
2. Secondary - those measurable present and expected future opportunity costs to the convicted criminal or his or her family.	2. Secondary - those measurable present and expected future economic gains to the convicted criminal or his or her family, other than cost reductions, directly attributable to a given criminal justice program.
3. Tertiary - those unmeasurable present and expected future costs to the convicted criminal or his or her family directly attributable to a given criminal justice program.	3. Tertiary - those unmeasurable gains to the convicted criminal or his or her family directly attributable to a given criminal justice program.

Chapman provides several examples of the ways in which the costs and benefits of an alternative to incarceration can be estimated. The following outline presents how costs could be estimated.

1. Project Outlays:

    A. Research and development costs of instituting the project.
    B. Investment/implementation costs.
    C. Administrative/operational costs.

2. Opportunity Costs: the value of the missed chances to do other things.

3. Associated Costs: costs involved in utilizing a service provided by a project.

4. Alternative Costs: the minimum costs of obtaining the output of a project by alternative means.[8]

Benefits generated by a criminal justice program could include:

1. Savings to society through the use of diversion.
2. Wages and taxes generated by the participant.
3. The participant's gain in human capital - i.e., enrollment in a remedial education program.
4. Reduced recidivism.[9]

In this fashion, a well-rounded presentation of the cost-effectiveness of a program can be ascertained.

In spite of its many strengths, cost-benefit analysis is not without problems. Cost-benefit analyses can encounter some of the problems listed below which, as a result, put the conclusions of the analysis in doubt.[10]

1. Incomplete Cost or Benefit Identification: Often, this problem involves the omission of a direct expenditure or an opportunity cost. Explicit expenditures are only a segment of total cost. The costs of incarceration include more than the costs of the facility, sustenance, maintenance, staff and special programs. One must also consider that incarcerated individuals are not fully productive members of the labor force. Incarceration represents a cost to them in terms of foregone production and tax contributions.

2. Unidentified or Distant Data Source: Data presented in the report should be identified by source and, ideally, these sources should be generated by the project itself. An identified data source is no guarantee of credibility, but it is a step in the right direction. Data sources which are not geographically close to the source of the study should be avoided. For example, national statistics are not the best source of information on local costs and benefits.

3. Failure to Consider the Discount Rate: As Chapman states, most projects incur costs and produce benefits over a period of time. Alternative projects must also be seen as generating streams of costs and benefits over time. In order to compare these streams both within and between projects, the flow must be telescoped into a single point in time for both the cost and the benefit sides. These discounted values are then used in the final analysis.[11]

4. Lack of a Description of the Program, its Components, and Component Costs: A description of this kind enables the researcher to identify and include costs which may not be obvious and do not enter into the budget explicitly.

5. Inadequate Identification of Cost Bearers: The sponsoring agency, the various levels of government, and/or the private bearers of the cost should be identified along with their respective proportional burdens.

6. Lack of Multiple Outcome Effectiveness Measures: For example, a probation counseling program may accomplish not only a reduction in probation recidivism, but also increase the educational level, employability, and general welfare of its clientele. In other words, social benefits should also be considered.

7. Inadequate Evaluation of the Recipients of Program Benefits: The effect of the program upon all subcategories and cross classifications of its clientele should be reported.

These problems could serve to limit the value of any cost-benefit analysis.

The studies reviewed in this report can be roughly classified as: 1) reports which treated the cost-benefit analysis as their primary focus and 2) evaluations of specific programs which added cost-benefit analysis to their methodology. As might be expected, the second category of reports is plagued by various shortcomings and errors of omission. As we shall see, cost-benefit analysis is a demanding, time-consuming technique and, if adequate information is the goal of the report, it cannot be added as an afterthought.

In their study of the costs of incarceration versus probation in Texas, Frazier and his colleagues attempted to develop realistic cost information on probation and incarceration for the purpose of comparison, and to outline elements on which future cost studies could be based.[12] Taken as a whole, this monograph represents what can be accomplished when cost-benefit analysis is the focal point of the research undertaking.

The report provides an excellent example of how the indirect costs of incarceration can be computed. The research team collected data by means of interviews of a representative sample of 115 inmates at the Diagnostic Unit of the Texas Department of Corrections. Since all inmates are initially assigned to the Diagnostic Unit, this sample was judged to be representative of the entire 1970 Texas prison population. The concept of indirect costs of incarceration was defined as the costs to the state associated with the loss of a breadwinner. Inmates were asked a total of twenty-six questions, six of which were used to compute the indirect cost figure. Table 10.2 summarizes the factors used to compute indirect cost.

TABLE 10.2

FACTORS USED TO COMPUTE INDIRECT COST[13]

Total average inmate population in 1970	13,001
Inmates in the sample	115
Average wage per year	$ 5,928.00
Average months employed per year	8.34
Unit cost of State Home (year)	$ 2,634.00
Number of children in State Home	3
Average taxes paid on gross wages	2%

The total indirect cost of incarceration was calculated in the following fashion:

TABLE 10.3

TOTAL INDIRECT COST OF INCARCERATION IN 1970[14]

AFDC cost	$ 3,516,557.00
Tax loss	1,541,598.00
Cost of State Home for children	880,292.00
Total indirect cost	5,938,447.00
Cost per man per year	457.00
Cost per man per day	1.25

The items used in Table 10.3 were clearly defined in the report. The AFCD cost (Aid for Dependent Children) was computed using the average caseload size, average grant, percent with father in prison (3.9%) and number of families.[15] The cost of the State Home for children was estimated through the use of the inmate survey. Two inmates reported that a total of three children were in the State Home as a result of their incarceration. Projected to the entire inmate population, this figure would expand to 121 inmates and 338 children.[16] This figure was then multiplied by the average cost of housing a child in the State Home for one year ($2,634.00). The tax loss was computed by determining the average number of months worked per year and the months available for work (to arrive at a percent of time employed), determining the gross wages paid per month when employed, and relating this information to the taxes normally paid to the state.[17]

Table 10.4 provides a summary of the external costs of incarceration, defined as all costs that were not included in the yearly budget of the Department of Corrections - including the costs of agencies in direct support of the Department and the indirect costs associated with the loss of the breadwinner.

TABLE 10.4

SUMMARY OF THE EXTERNAL COST OF INCARCERATION[18]

Cost of Direct Support	$ 1,547,980.00
Indirect Cost	5,938,447.00
Total External Cost	7,486,427.00
Cost per man per year	575.00
Cost per man per day	1.58

Table 10.5, the total cost of incarceration, was computed as the sum of the cost of operations for the Texas Department of Corrections and total external costs of incarceration. The average cost per man per year was computed by dividing the total for the year by the average inmate population and the cost per man per day was calculated by dividing the cost per man per year by 365.

TABLE 10.5

TOTAL COST OF INCARCERATION IN 1970[19]

Texas Department of Corrections Cost	$ 20,845,275.00
External Cost of Incarceration	7,486,427.00
Total Cost	28,331,702.00
Cost per man per year	2,179.00
Cost per man per day	5.97

It seems that the only apparent flaw in this presentation of the external costs of incarceration is the failure to calculate the opportunity costs of incarceration to the inmate. At its simplest level, this opportunity cost could have been calculated by multiplying the average wage per year per inmate by the average length of sentence. This calculation would still fail to address the issue of psychological damage of incarceration to the inmate and his family. Yet, as the Frazier study demonstrates, a survey method can be used to calculate the external costs of incarceration. This technique should be replicated in other states.

Frazier and his associates then turn to the derivation of a Probation Cost Model. In the course of their estimate, the authors used fifty cases per officer as the standard caseload size. Table 10.6 presents a summary of the probation cost elements derived by the authors.

TABLE 10.6

SUMMARY OF PROBATION COST ELEMENTS[20]

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1. Ratio

   a. one officer for every 20,000 (± 10,000) of population
   b. maximum caseload of 300 under each supervisor

2. Staffing Pattern

   a. one supervisor for every six officers
   b. one clerk for every three officers
   c. one secretary for each supervisor and director/assistant director
   d. one director for every two supervisors

3. Salary (average) and allowances

	Salary	Allowance*
Officers	$10,200	$1,200
Clerks	5,000	
Secretaries	6,000	
Supervisors	12,000	1,200
Directors	14,000	1,200

*Counties with large area of maximum caseload should pay $1,800 per year.

4. Facility - 165 square feet per person @ $4.80 per square foot per year - $792

5. Telephone - $100 per employee per year

6. Operating expenses - $200 per employee per year

7. County paid benefits - 15 percent of salary

8. Equipment depreciation - $600 per person each 5 years equals $120 per employee per year

9. Payments by probationers - $10 per month per probation times 12 months times sixty-five percent

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The estimates used in Table 10.6 were arrived at in the following manner:

1. Staffing Pattern: Based upon California recommendations, one supervisor for six officers, one clerical position for each three officers and one full-time secretary for each supervisor position.
2. Salaries: Based upon actual salaries paid in some counties in Texas and an evaluation of pay scales in government and industry.
3. Travel Allowances: Based upon current levels, $100 per month per officer.
4. Cost of Facility: Each office was charged a portion of the cost to the taxpayer of the total outlay for construction. Cost of depreciation could not be determined. Cost of office space per square foot was obtained from the Chamber of Commerce in three cities. The number of square feet of office space per individual (165) was determined by measuring the space available in Austin, Bryan, and Dallas and dividing by the number of people.
5. Telephone and Operating Supplies: Based upon actual expenditures.
6. County Paid Benefits: 15 percent of salary.
7. Equipment Costs: Based on depreciation and it was assumed that office equipment would have to be replaced every five years.
8. Payments by Probationers: Most counties collect a fee of $10.00 per month per probationer. It was determined that probation offices can expect to collect 65 percent of the total fee assessed to all probationers.[21]

Tables 10.7 through 10.9 represent the author's calculations of the costs of probation.

TABLE 10.7

COST OF A MODEL PROBATION SYSTEM FOR TEXAS[22]

Estimated average number of probationers*	28,000
Cost per man per year**	$ 274.00
Total estimated cost for one year	7,672,000.00
Cost per man per day	.75

*1970 population of Texas (11,200,000) divided by 1,000 and multiplied by 2.5 (the number of probationers per 1,000 population).

**Based on the cost of a county with 40,000 population (the mean of the populations of all counties is 44,085).

TABLE 10.8

COST OF PROBATION EXCLUDING FACILITY AND EQUIPMENT COST

Estimated average number of probationers	28,000
Cost per man per year*	$ 274.00
Total estimated cost for one year	6,916,000.00
Cost per man per day	.68

*Based on the mean population of all Texas counties.

TABLE 10.9

COMPARISON OF PROBATION AND INCARCERATION COST[23]

Average inmate population in 1970	13,000
Estimated probation population	28,000
Total cost of incarceration in 1970	$28,331,702.00
Total cost of model probation system for one year	7,672,000.00*
Difference in cost	20,659,702.00
Cost per man per year (Probation)	274.00
Cost per man per year (Incarceration)	2,179.00
Difference in cost per year	1,905.00
Cost per man per day (Probation)	.75
Cost per man per day (Incarceration)	5.97
Difference in cost per day	5.22

*Includes facility and equipment cost.

The savings generated by probation were also illustrated through the use of an example. If a felon were convicted, given a five year sentence, incarcerated three years, and then placed on parole for two years, the total cost would be $6,927. If the same felon were placed on probation, however, the cost would only equal $1,370 - a savings of $5,557 over the five year period. Thus the authors concluded that if the model probation system was adopted, 3,000 inmates would be diverted and generate a one year savings of $5,715,000.[24] Based upon these findings, the authors concluded that the model probation service should be adopted by the state.

In sum, the Texas study is an excellent example of the high quality of information which can be generated by a cost-benefit analysis. The only shortcoming apparent in the analysis is the failure to consider a discount rate for the costs and benefits of the model probation system. Yet, the report gives meaningful cost-benefit figures which demonstrate the cost advantages of the model program.

A study of the Monroe County Pilot Program (MCPP) for the Vocational Upgrading of Probationers attempted to demonstrate the cost-effectiveness of this particular project. The MCPP assumes that criminal behavior is related to unemployment and attempts to reduce recidivism through a program of academic upgrading, vocational assessment, job placement, and job coaching. The program was evaluated by comparing the net costs and benefits accruing to an experimental group of probationers (N=202) and a control group of 42 probationers who did not participate in the program. Data were collected over a 25 month period.[25] Members of the control group were eligible for (unemployed and underemployed) but did not enter the program.

The cost benefit model utilized in this study was divided into three parts: (1) community not including the probationers, (2) the probationers, and (3) community as a whole including the probationers. The authors found that, at the end of the data collection period, the average weekly wages for the experimental group were $187.93, compared to $139.81 for the control group - a difference of $48.02. However, by using a multiple regression model, they found that the difference in weekly wages which was actually attributable to participation in the MCPP program was even larger - $53.41.[26] Thus, if members of the control group had participated in the program, their wages would have totaled $193.22 per week ($139.81 plus $53.41).[27] However, in the analysis, the authors chose to use the

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lower figure ($48.02) as the difference between the groups - understating benefits for the experimental group by approximately $19,000 for the first year following MCPP. No reason was given for this methodological choice.

Tables 10.0 and 10.11 summarize the cost-benefits of this special program.

TABLE 10.10

COSTS/BENEFITS FOR THE COMMUNITY EXCLUDING PROBATIONERS[28]

Costs		Benefits	
1. Costs of Project less stipend*			
Salaries and Benefits	$159,995		
Equipment**	6,700		
Supplies	17,512		
Renovation	11,936		
Miscellaneous	23,953		
Indirect Costs	32,511		
Fee to Singer	43,571		
Total	$296,178		
2. Recidivism Costs Since there was no change in the recidivism rates between the two groups, the associated costs are assumed to be equal and offsetting.			
3. Stipend	$115,261		
		4. Reduced welfare	$ 3,995
		and Unemployment Insurance	4,774
		Total	$ 8,769
		($5,846 per year)	
		5. Increased taxes paid by probationers (Estimated at 10% of increase in wages; $17,287 per year)	$17,287
Total Costs	$411,438	Total Benefits	$34,700

Table 10.10

Continued

Net Costs to the Community excluding the Probationers
Net Cost = Total Costs - Total Benefits
$376,738 = $411,438 - $34,700

*These costs are not budget figures but actual expenditures for the calendar year 1971. Excluded are costs associated with the NCCD study and in-kind costs used by the City of Rochester to justify federal contributions.

**Initial equipment costs of $24,157 were amortized over a five year period with a 20% salvage rate using the following formula:

$$\text{Initial Equipment} = \frac{\text{Rent/Year}}{(1+r)^1} + \frac{\text{Salvage Value}}{(1+r)^1} \quad \text{where } r = .10, \; i = 4.00$$

TABLE 10.11

COSTS/BENEFITS ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE PROBATIONERS[29]

Costs		Benefits	
1. Wages foregone while in project	$15,287	1. Stipend while in project	$115,261
2. Loss of welfare and UIB ($5,846 per year)	8,769	2. Increase in wages per year following completion of project ($172,872 per year)	259,308
3. Increased taxes paid after completion of the program ($17,287 per year)	25,931		
Total Costs	$49,987	Total Benefits	$374,569

Net Benefit to the Probationers
Net Benefit = Total Benefit - Total Cost
$324,582 = $374,569 - $49,987

Net Costs/Benefits to Society Including the Probationers
Net Cost as of December 1972 = Total Cost - Total Benefits
Net Cost as of December 1972 = $461,425 - $409,269 = $52,156

Unlike the Texas study, the MCCP report considers the rate of benefit return over time. Chitren and Reynolds theorized that, at some point in the future, all effects of the program would wash out, that is, at some point in time the income advantages of the program participants would be lost. All future values were discounted at a rate of ten percent.

In Table 10.12, the authors assumed that the differential income generated by the program would remain at $172,872, but would disappear after the year indicated. Thus if program benefits only last one year the present value of the program is a negative $52,156; however, if benefits last two or more years the program generates a positive net present value.

TABLE 10.12

PRESENT VALUE OF PROGRAM I[30]

Last year of Benefit Following Group Exit from Program	Net Present Value of Program
1	- 52,156
2	+ 105,000
3	+ 247,869
4	+ 377,750
5	+ 495,823

In Table 10.13, the authors assumed that the differential decreases linearly from $172,872 to $0 at the end of the year indicated.

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TABLE 10.13

PRESENT VALUE OF PROGRAM II[31]

Last Year of Benefit Following Group Exit from Program	Net Present Value of Program
1	- 52,156
2	+ 26,422
3	+ 88,466
4	+ 139,658
5	+ 211,721

In Table 10.14, the authors assumed that the differential grows ten percent and then terminates the year after the one indicated.

TABLE 10.14

PRESENT VALUE OF PROGRAM III[32]

Last Year of Benefit Following Group Exit from Program	Net Present Value of Program
1	- 52,156
2	+ 120,706
3	+ 303,578
4	+ 476,450
5	+ 649,322

In this fashion, Chitren and Reynolds attempted to analyze the wash-out question - an aspect that could not have otherwise been addressed in the absence of a longitudinal study. These data indicate that the length of the effect of the benefit generated by the program is critical to its discounted net value and suggests that further research on long term effects of employment related programs is appropriate.

The sole weakness of this study was its failure to address the indirect cost and benefits generated by the program. In the place of some researched estimates, the authors simply provided lists of "non-quantifiable" benefits to clients, family and friends, and the community. As the following list indicates, it seems that some of these benefits could have been estimated in some way.

Benefits to Clients:

1. Increased self-esteem.
2. Maturation as evidenced by independence.
3. Improved and strengthened family ties.
4. Sense of belonging in the job market.
5. Loss of antagonism toward the "established system."
6. Non-real wages, i.e., employment benefits such as hospitalization, social security, retirement benefits, etc., all of which increase the security of the probationers.

Benefits to Family and Friends:

1. Higher standard of living.
2. Decreased family humiliation.
3. Increased social acceptance within the community.
4. Improved and strengthened family ties
5. Increased self-esteem.

Benefits to the Community:

1. Increased psychic well-being for all.
2. Decreased requirement for future rehabilitation services.
3. Increased community prosperity.
4. Because of benefits such as retirement, social security, and hospitalization available to the employed probationer, society will not continue to provide for him in his illness or old age without him having made a contribution toward that care.[33]

In addition, the authors failed to compare the cost of the program to alternative programs (i.e., regular probation) or to the cost of incarceration. Thus, their findings are limited to this particular program and are not as generalized as those presented in the Texas study.

The second category of probation cost studies cannot be considered as true cost-benefit analyses, since they do little else than compare the costs of various forms of supervision to the program in question. This type of information, although important, is of limited value when compared to the Texas and Monroe County studies. This lack of development is no doubt a function of the fact that these studies do not consider cost analysis as their primary focus.

In the first report, the Albuquerque Municipal Court studied the effectiveness of traditional, volunteer, and team supervision in probation, and cost-comparison was one aspect of their findings.

TABLE 10.15

ALBUQUERQUE PROJECT COST COMPARISONS[34]

Type of Supervision	Ratio		Cost per Contact
1. Traditional	$\frac{\$16,076.95}{545}$	=	$29.50
2. Team	$\frac{\$17,828.86}{1198}$	=	14.88
3. Volunteer	$\frac{\$\ 5,232.20}{959}$	=	5.46

The authors of the report were well aware of the limitations of these findings and presented them solely for the determination of the comparative cost of each probation service method.

The Tennessee Department of Corrections made a similar cost analysis in an attempt to demonstrate the cost effectiveness of field services over incarceration. Using fiscal year 1973-74 as a basis, the authors compared the costs of probation services for offenders who would otherwise have been incarcerated for eighteen months and the costs attributed to another one hundred people released six months early and placed on parole.

TABLE 10.16

TENNESSEE COST ANALYSIS[35]

I. Correctional Institution Alternative

$ 13.00	average per day institutional cost
x 100	offenders
$ 1,300.00	per day for 100 inmates
x 547	eighteen month average length of stay
$711,000.00	cost of maintaining 100 inmates for 18 months
$ 13.00	average pay day institutional cost
x 100	eligible parolees
$ 1,300.00	per day cost of maintenance
x 182	six months length of stay
$236,600.00	cost of maintaining 100 eligible parolees in an institution for an extra 182 days

Total cost of Alternative I = $711,000.00
236,600.00

$947,600.00

NOTE: An additional societal cost under Alternative I is the costs associated with maintaining an incarcerated person's family on welfare, as well as the losses in tax revenue.

Table 10.16

Continued

II. Probation and Parole Alternative

$ 1.05	client per diem cost for probation supervision
x 100	probationers (not sent to an institution)
$ 105.00	per day cost of maintaining 100 probationers
x 547	eighteen month probation period
$57,435.00	cost of maintaining 100 probationers for 18 months
$ 105.00	cost of maintaining 100 parolees for six months
x 182	six months parole period
$19,110.00	cost of maintaining 100 parolees for six months

Total Cost of Alternative II = $57,435.00
19,110.00

$76,545.00

NOTE: Total cost of Alternative II does not include the benefits accruing from a probationer or parolee being able to support their family and dependents as well as the taxes generated by being allowed to continue employment.

Cost differential between Alternatives I and II = $947,600.00
76,454.00

$871,055.00 Total cost differential

The Tennessee researchers also cited the need to consider other benefits attributable to field services - i.e., wages and taxes generated by probationers and parolees.

In sum, cost-benefit analysis is a rigorous procedure which demands a certain level of effort in order to generate useful information. Cost-benefit estimates must be thoroughly defined and researched to have any meaning. On the surface, however, it appears that the research findings summarized in this paper provide a strong basis supporting the cost effectiveness of probation over incarceration.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER X

[1] Jerome Rothenberg, "Cost-Benefit Analysis: A Methodological Exposition," in Handbook of Evaluation Research, Volume II, Marcia Guttentag and Elmer L. Struening, eds. (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1975) p. 55.

[2] Jeffrey I. Chapman and Carl W. Nelson, A Handbook of Cost-Benefit Techniques and Applications (Washington, D.C.: American Bar Association Correctional Economics Center, 1975) p. 2.

[3] Ibid., p. 31.

[4] Ibid., p. 35.

[5] Carl W. Nelson, "Cost-Benefit Analysis and Alternatives to Incarceration," Federal Probation 39 (December 1975) p. 46.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid., p. 47.

[8] Chapman and Nelson, p. 18.

[9] Ibid., p. 16.

[10] Many of the limitations listed here are derived from Henry M. Levin, "Cost-Effectiveness Analysis in Evaluation Research," in Handbook of Evaluation Research, Volume II, Marcia Guttentag and Elmer L. Struening, eds. (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1975) pp. 98-110.

[11] Chapman and Nelson, p. 20.

[12] Robert L. Frazier, Charles M. Friel, Donald J. Weisenhorn, and John A. Cocoros, Incarceration and Adult Felon Probation in Texas: A Cost Comparison (Huntsville, Texas: Institute of Contemporary Corrections and the Behavioral Sciences, 1973) p. 32.

[13] Ibid., p. 35.

[14] Ibid., p. 36.

[15] Ibid., p. 33.

[16] Ibid., p. 36.

[17] Ibid., p. 37.

[18] Ibid., p. 38.

[19] Ibid., p. 39.

[20] Ibid., p. 41.

[21] Ibid., pp. 43-47.

[22] Ibid., p. 48.

[23] Ibid., p. 52.

[24] Ibid., p. 51.

[25] Vincent R. Chitren and Regis J. Reynolds, *A Cost/Benefit Analysis of the Monroe County Pilot Program for Vocational Upgrading of Probationers* (Rochester, New York: University of Rochester, 1973) p. 1.

[26] Ibid., p. 17.

[27] Ibid., p. 18.

[28] Ibid., p. 19.

[29] Ibid., p. 20.

[30] Ibid., p. 21.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid., p. 22.

[33] Ibid., pp. 23-25.

[34] Albuquerque Municipal Court, *Intensive Probation Supervision, Grant #74ED060012* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: Albuquerque Municipal Court) pp. 60-61.

[35] Tennessee Department of Corrections, *Probation and Parole* (Nashville, Tennessee: Tennessee Law Enforcement Planning Commission) pp. 29-30.

CHAPTER XI

STANDARDS FOR PROBATION

Introduction

The setting of standards for probation is an outgrowth of earlier standard-setting activity for correctional institutions. This move has been fueled by the concerns of corrections professionals, the courts, funding agencies, politicians, and citizens who expect corrections to serve the public efficiently and effectively. These persons believe, correctly or incorrectly, that standards which set minimum levels of performance can lead to the upgrading of corrections and the entire criminal justice system. Standards for specialized services such as probation and parole can serve as substitutes for output-oriented objectives. Several sections of this report stress that the difficulty of assessing the effectiveness of certain probation activities is directly related to a lack of clear, agreed-upon objectives (particularly in the areas of the "proper" roles of probation officers, education and training of probation officers, and the provision of probation services). Standards such as the examples presented here can serve as proxies for objectives and thus offer some direction to the administratively fractured world of probation.

There is some danger that standards which are not related to performance will become so widely accepted that they harm rather than help the development of an effective probation service. This may well have

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occurred with the issue of caseload size, where "magic numbers" such as thirty-five or fifty probationers per caseload were accepted on faith. However, we choose to adopt the rather optimistic position that the unquestioning acceptance of unsupported standards has been an artifact of an administratively and professionally immature probation system. The increased visibility of probation, the professionalization of its personnel, and the increasing positive attitude toward research in the field indicate that naive and unreasonable standards are not likely to survive.

Research on the application and effectiveness of standards for probation is non-existent. It will come, we believe, as an outgrowth of research into the other critical issues highlighted in this study. Indeed, it may be that standards which are developed from future research will be the key to implementing an effective and efficient probation service.

Standards

The following excerpts represent a collection of standards which address selected aspects of probation. These examples have been drawn from the three most recent sources: The American Bar Association (ABA) Standards Relating to Probation (1970)[1] and Standards Relating to Sentencing (1968),[2] the National Advisory Commission's (NAC) Standards and Goals: Corrections (1973),[3] and the American Correctional Association's (ACA) Manual of Standards for Adult Probation and Parole Field Services (1977).[4] Model legislation, such as the Model Penal Code (1961)[5] and the Standard Probation and Parole Act (1955)[6], is not included in this summary.

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Standards from each source are grouped by topics for comparison. It is evident that, while all have drawn heavily from prior standards and often compare favorably to each other, there are notable differences in scope, detail, and comprehensiveness.

Definition of Probation

"Probation as a court disposition was first used as a suspension of sentence. Under probation, a convicted offender's freedom in the community was continued, subject to supervision and certain conditions established by the court. A shift now is occurring and probation is being used increasingly as a sentence in itself."[7] This statement from the NAC commentary on its standards for probation reflects the NAC's acceptance of the current interpretation of probation as defined in the ABA standards:

> 1.1 (b) In this report the term "probation" means a sentence not involving confinement which imposes conditions and retains authority in the sentencing court to modify the conditions of the sentence or to resentence the offender if he violates the conditions. Such a sentence should not involve or require suspension of the imposition or the execution of any other sentence. A sentence to probation should be treated as a final judgment for purposes of appeal and similar procedural purposes.

The ABA standards delete any references to "suspended sentences" and incorporate under this definition of probation even those statuses where no probation agency supervision is required.[8]

In addition to establishing probation as a sentence, the ABA standards develop justifications for probation which establishes its theoretical context:

> 1.2 Desirability of Probation.
> Probation is a desirable disposition in appropriate cases because:
> (i) it maximizes the liberty of the individual while at the same time vindicating the authority of the law

> and effectively protecting the public from further violations of law;
> (ii) it affirmatively promotes the rehabilitation of the offender by continuing normal community contacts;
> (iii) it avoids the negative and frequently stultifying effects of confinement which often severely and unnecessarily complicate the reintegration of the offender into the community;
> (iv) it greatly reduces the financial costs to the public treasury of an effective correctional system;
> (v) it minimizes the impact of the conviction upon innocent dependents of the offender.

While the definition of probation is not specifically addressed in its standards, the ACA's Manual observes that "probation offers the courts a reasonable alternative for cases not requiring confinement; that probation may offer a general deterrent and control for a number of select offenders...and that, in the main, probation is viewed as an integral function of the correctional process which contributes to the public interest and to the management of offenders."[5]

Administration and Organization of Probation

NAC Standard 10.1 concerning the organization of probation states that:

> Each State with locally or judicially administered probation should take action, in implementing Standard 16.4, Unifying Correctional Programs, to place probation organizationally in the executive branch of state government. The State correctional agency should be given responsibility for:
> 1. Establishing statewide goals, policies, and priorities that can be translated into measurable objectives by those delivering services.
> 2. Program planning and development of innovative service strategies.
> 3. Staff development and training.
> 4. Planning for manpower needs and recruitment.
> 5. Collecting statistics, monitoring services, and conducting research and evaluation.
> 6. Offering consultation to courts, legislative bodies, and local executives.
> 7. Coordinating the activities of separate systems for delivery of services to the courts and to probationers until separate staffs to perform services to the courts are established within the courts system.

> During the period when probation is being placed under direct State operation, the State correctional agency should be given authority to supervise local probation and to operate regional units in rural areas where population does not justify creation or continuation of local probation. In addition to the responsibilities previously listed, the State correctional agency should be given responsibility for:
>
> 1. Establishing standards relating to personnel, services to courts, services to probationers, and records to be maintained, including format of reports to courts, statistics, and fiscal controls.
> 2. Consultation to local probation agencies, including evaluation of services with recommendations for improvement; assisting local systems to develop uniform record and statistical reporting procedures conforming to State standards; and aiding in local staff development efforts.
> 3. Assistance in evaluating the number and types of staff needed in each jurisdiction.
> 4. Financial assistance through reimbursement or subsidy to those probation agencies meeting standards set forth in this chapter.

American Bar Association, Standard 61. (b):

> It is appropriate for probation services to be administered at either the state or local level, but in no event should control be vested in an agency having prosecutorial functions.

There is obvious support for a unified state probation system within the NAC standards, while the ABA takes a more neutral position. The ACA's Manual focuses on service delivery systems rather than where or how the probation agency should be constituted within the governmental structure.[10] They define administrative standards only on the agency level:

> 3003 The assignment of organizational responsibility for agency field supervision services within the governmental structure is specified by statute.
>
> Discussion: Statutory specification provides unquestionable definition of the role of field supervision services within the governmental structure.
>
> 3004 Responsibilities and functions of the agency are specified by statute or administratively by the parent governmental organization.

> Discussion: Probation and parole agencies can best achieve their goals and objectives when responsibilities and functions are articulated either by a parent organization or by statute. Vague definitions of responsibilities and functions hinder both individual and organizational effectiveness, resulting in a loss of understanding and support from criminal justice and other agencies and the general public.
>
> 3006 The authority, responsibility and function of the position of agency administrator are specified by statute or administratively by the parent governmental organization.
>
> Discussion: Effective leadership cannot evolve or be maintained in the absence of a clear definition of the authority and responsibilities of the administrator. The functions specified by statute should include planning, organizing, staffing, coordinating, directing, and controlling the probation/parole services. Statutory specification also assists in the recruitment and retention of a qualified administrator.
>
> 3007 The agency and its programs are managed by a single administrative officer.
>
> Discussion: Each agency should be headed by a single administrative officer, appointed by and responsible only to the governing authority of the agency. There should be no employees or units of management within the agency that are not accountable to the administrative officer. Where there are persons (usually employees of other public and private agencies) who are providing a service to the agency, written policies and procedures should be developed and reviewed, at least annually, to describe their roles and functions as they relate to the authority and responsibility of the administrator.
>
> 3041 The chief executive and/or governing board of the level of government at which the probation/parole services are constituted has the responsibility for appointing the agency administrator.
>
> Discussion: Because the chief executive and/or governing board of the probation/parole agency's parent governmental organization is responsible for the overall functioning of the correctional agency, that individual or group should select the administrator of probation/parole services.

In addition to statewide concerns, the ABA standards address local administrative concerns. Their approach is to vest administrative authority in the courts:

> 6.4 Appointment of probation personnel.
>
> (a) Responsibility for appointing chief probation officers in local probation departments should reside solely in the chief judge of the court or an appropriate judicial body. Consideration should be given to the creation of an agency or committee to advise in recruiting and screening chief probation officers. Such a committee should consist of representatives of government, the judiciary, the bar, and the community.
>
> (b) Chief probation officers should make all appointments of probation personnel in accordance with a merit system. After a probationary period, tenure should be granted and removal permitted only after a hearing conducted by a civil service commission or other career service organization.
>
> 6.1 Legislative responsibility; administrative structure.
>
> (a) Legislative bodies should appropriate sufficient funds so that all trial courts administering criminal justice will have adequate probation services and personnel in order to implement properly the standards developed in this Report.

The standards cited here provide no guidance for the proper placement of probation in the criminal justice system. They point both to the executive branch and the judiciary. They do, however, emphasize unity of administration and clear statutory authority for probation.

Criteria for Probation

There are several standards which address this topic and, for the most part, they differ very little. Both the ABA and the NAC recommend that the length of the probation sentence should not exceed the maximum incarceration sentence prescribed by law; however, in the case of misdemeanants, the NAC recommends a one year limit, while the ABA suggests a two year limit.

NAC Standard 5.4:

> Each sentencing court immediately should revise its policies, procedures, and practices concerning probation, and where necessary, enabling legislation should be enacted, as follows:
>
> 1. A sentence to probation should be for a specific

> term not exceeding the maximum sentence authorized by law, except that probation for misdemeanants may be for a period not exceeding one year.

NAC Standard 5.2:

> State penal code revisions should include a provision that the maximum sentence for any offender not specifically found to represent a substantial danger to others should not exceed 5 years for felonies other than murder. No minimum sentence should be authorized by the legislature.
>
> The sentencing court should be authorized to impose a maximum sentence less than that provided by statute.

ABA Standard 1.1 (d):

> The court should specify at the time of sentencing the length of any term during which the defendant is to be supervised and during which the court will retain power to revoke the sentence for the violation of specified conditions. Neither supervision nor the power to revoke should be permitted to extend beyond a legislatively fixed time, which should in no event exceed two years for a misdemeanor or five years for a felony.

Both the NAC and the ABA standards indicate that probation is the preferred sentence unless exceptional circumstances are present.

NAC Standard 16.11:

> Each state should enact by 1975 probation legislation (1) providing probation as an alternative for all offenders; and (2) establishing criteria for (a) the granting of probation, (b) probation conditions, (c) the revocation of probation, and (d) the length of probation.
>
> Criteria for the granting of probation should be patterned after Sec. 7.01 of the Model Penal Code and should:
>
> 1. Require probation over confinement unless specified conditions exist.
> 2. State factors that should be considered in favor of granting probation.
> 3. Direct the decision on granting probation toward factors relating to the individual offender rather than to the offense.

NAC Standard 5.2 (Non-Dangerous Offenders):

> Criteria should be established for sentencing offenders. Such criteria should include:
>
> 1. A requirement that the least drastic sentencing alternative be imposed that is consistent with public safety. The court should impose the first of the following alternatives that will reasonably protect the public safety:

a. Unconditional release.
b. Conditional release.
c. A fine.
d. Release under supervision in the community.
e. Sentence to a halfway house or other residential facility located in the community.
f. Sentence to partial confinement with liberty to work or participate in training or education during all but leisure time.
g. Total confinement in a correctional facility.

2. A provision against the use of confinement as an appropriate disposition unless affirmative justification is shown on the record. Factors that would justify confinement may include:
a. There is undue risk that the offender will commit another crime of not confined.
b. The offender is in need of correctional services that can be provided effectively only in an institutional setting, and such services are reasonably available.
c. Any other alternative will depreciate the seriousness of the offense.

3. Weighting of the following in favor of withholding a disposition of incarceration:
a. The offender's criminal conduct neither caused nor actually threatened serious harm.
b. The offender did not contemplate or intend that his criminal conduct would cause or threaten serious harm.
c. The offender acted under strong provocation.
d. There were substantial grounds tending to excuse or justify the offender's criminal conduct, though failing to establish defense.
e. The offender had led a law-abiding life for a substantial period of time before commission of the present crime.
f. The offender is likely to respond affirmatively to probationary supervision.
g. The victim of the crime induced or facilitated its commission.
h. The offender has made or will make restitution or reparation to the victim of his crime for the damage or injury which was sustained.
i. The offender's conduct was the result of circumstances not likely to recur.
j. The character, history, and attitudes of the offender indicate that he is unlikely to commit another crime.
k. Imprisonment of the offender would entail undue hardship to dependents.
l. The offender is elderly or in poor health.
m. The correctional programs within the institutions to which the offender would be sent are inappropriate to his particular needs or would not likely be of benefit to him.

ABA Standard 1.1:

> (a) The legislature should authorize the sentencing court in every case to impose a sentence of probation. Exceptions to this principle are not favored and, if made, should be limited to the most serious offenses.

ABA Standard 1.3:

> (a) The probation decision should not turn upon generalizations about types of offenses or the existence of a prior criminal record, but should be rooted in the facts and circumstances of each case. The court should consider the nature and circumstances of the crime, the history and character of the offender, and available institutional and community resources. Probation should be the sentence unless the sentencing court finds that:
> (i) confinement is necessary to protect the public from further criminal activity by the offender; or
> (ii) the offender is in need of correctional treatment which can most effectively be provided if he is confined; or
> (iii) it would unduly depreciate the seriousness of the offense if a sentence of probation were imposed.
> (b) Whether the defendant pleads guilty, pleads not guilty or intends to appeal is not relevant to the issue of whether probation is an appropriate sentence.

While the ACA standards do not specifically address sentencing criteria, they do speak to the related area of the extent of misdemeanant probation services.

ACA Standard 3180:

> 3180 The supervision of misdemeanant offenders is governed by standards, policies and practices comparable to those available to felony offenders.
>
> Discussion: Misdemeanants placed on probation should receive the same priority and quality of service as those accorded felony probationers. The agencies responsible for felony probation also should have responsibility for misdemeanant probation.

In the same vein is the NAC's Standard 10.3:

> Each State should develop additional probation manpower and resources to assure that the courts may use probation for persons convicted of misdemeanors in all cases for which this disposition may be appropriate. All standards of this report that apply to probation are intended to cover both misdemeanant and felony probation. Other than the possible

> length of probation terms, there should be no distinction between misdemeanant and felony probation as to organization, manpower, or services.

From these standards, probation appears to be the disposition of choice, particularly for non-dangerous offenders. Probation should be limited to a certain maximum time period, and the services of probation should be extended to misdemeanants as well as felons.

Revocation Procedures

The following NAC and ABA standards relating to revocation procedures and revocation criteria are quite similar. Both outline a system of due process appropriate to pre-revocation circumstances (e.g., informal alternatives to revocation) as well as guidelines for revocation proceedings.

The ABA standards include the justification for probation revocation under certain circumstances. Both the NAC and the ABA hold that a decision to revoke probation, based on the commission of another crime, should not occur prior to a finding of guilt in the new case. However, the ABA suggests that the judge should have the right to detain the suspected probationer without bail, if he decides that there is probable cause.

NAC Standard 5.4:

> Procedures should be adopted authorizing the revocation of a sentence of probation for violation of specific conditions imposed, such procedures to include:
>
> a. Authorization for the prompt confinement of probationers who exhibit behavior that is a serious threat to themselves or others and for allowing probationers suspected of violations of a less serious nature to remain in the community until further proceedings are completed.
>
> b. A requirement that for those probationers who are arrested for violations of probation, a preliminary hearing be held promptly by a neutral official other than his probation officer to determine whether there is probable cause to believe the probationer violated his probation.

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At this hearing the probationer should be accorded the following rights:

(1) To be given notice of the hearing and of the alleged violations.

(2) To be heard and to present evidence.

(3) To confront and cross-examine adverse witnesses unless there is substantial evidence that the witness will be placed in danger of serious harm by so testifying.

(4) To be represented by counsel and to have counsel appointed for him if he is indigent.

(5) To have the decisionmaker state his reasons for his decision and the evidence relied on.

c. Authorization of informal alternatives to formal revocation proceedings for handling alleged violations of minor conditions of probation. Such alternatives to revocation should include:

(1) A formal or informal conference with the probationer to reemphasize the necessity of compliance with the conditions.

(2) A formal or informal warning that further violations could result in revocation.

d. A requirement that, unless waived by the probationer after due notification of his rights, a hearing be held on all alleged violations of probation where revocation is a possibility to determine whether there is substantial evidence to indicate a violation has occurred and if such a violation has occurred, the appropriate disposition.

e. A requirement that at the probation revocation hearing the probationer should have notice of the alleged violation, access to official records regarding his case, the right to be represented by counsel including the right to appointed counsel if he is indigent, the right to subpena witnesses in his own behalf, and the right to confront and cross-examine witnesses against him.

f. A requirement that before probation is revoked the court make written findings of fact based upon substantial evidence of a violation of a condition of probation.

g. Authorization for the court, upon finding a violation of conditions of probation, to continue the existing sentence with or without modification, to enlarge the conditions, or to impose any other sentence that was available to the court at the time of initial sentencing. In resentencing a probation violator, the following rules should be applicable:

(1) Criteria and procedures governing initial sentencing decisions should govern resentencing decisions.

(2) Failure to comply with conditions of a sentence that impose financial obligations upon the offender should not result in confinement unless such failure is due to a willful refusal to pay.

(3) Time served under probation supervision from initial sentencing to the date of violation should be credited against the sentence imposed on resentencing.

Probation should not be revoked for the commission of a new crime until the offender has been tried and convicted of that crime. At this time criteria and procedures governing initial sentencing decisions should govern resentencing decisions.

NAC Standard 16.11:

Criteria and procedures for revocation of probation should provide that probation should not be revoked unless:

1. There is substantial evidence of a violation of one of the conditions of probation;
2. The probationer is granted notice of the alleged violation, access to official records regarding his case, the right to be represented by counsel including the right to appointed counsel if he is indigent, the right to subpena witnesses in his own behalf, and the right to confront and cross-examine witnesses against him; and
3. The court provides the probationer a written statement of the findings of fact, the reasons for the revocation, and the evidence relied upon.

In defining the term for which probation may be granted, the legislation should require a specific term not to exceed the maximum sentence authorized by law, except that probation for misdemeanants should not exceed one year. The court should be authorized to discharge a person from probation at any time.

ABA Standards 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, and 5.4:

5.1 Grounds for and alternatives to probation revocation.

(a) Violation of a condition is both a necessary and a sufficient ground for the revocation of probation. Revocation followed by imprisonment should not be the disposition, however, unless the court finds on the basis of the original offense and the intervening conduct of the offender that:

(i) confinement is necessary to protect the public from further criminal activity by the offender; or

(ii) the offender is in need of correctional treatment which can most effectively be provided if he is confined; or

(iii) it would unduly depreciate the seriousness of the violation if probation were not revoked.

(b) It would be appropriate for standards to be formulated as a guide to probation departments and courts in processing the violation of conditions. In any event, the following intermediate steps should be considered in every case as possible alternatives to revocation:

(i) a review of the conditions, followed by changes where necessary or desirable;

(ii) a formal or informal conference with the probationer to reemphasize the necessity of compliance with the conditions;

(iii) a formal or informal warning that further violations could result in revocation.

5.2 Arrest of probationers.

(a) Formal arrests of probationers for the alleged violation of conditions of their probation should be preceded by the issuance of an arrest warrant based upon probable cause that a violation has occurred. Arrests without a warrant should be permitted only when the violation involves the commission of another crime and when the normal standards for arrests without a warrant have otherwise been met.

(b) Probation officers should not be authorized to arrest probationers.

5.3 Proceedings following commission of another crime.

A revocation proceeding based solely upon commission of another crime ordinarily should not be initiated prior to the disposition of that charge. However, upon a showing of probable cause that another crime has been committed by the probationer, the probation court should have discretionary authority to detain the probationer without bail pending a determination of the new criminal charge.

5.4 Nature of revocation proceedings.

(a) The court should not revoke probation without an open court proceeding attended by the following incidents:

(i) a prior written notice of the alleged violation;

(ii) representation by retained or appointed counsel; and

(iii) where the violation is contested, establishment of the violation by the government by a preponderance of the evidence.

Sentence should be imposed following a revocation according to the same procedures as are applicable to original sentencing proceedings.

(b) The government is entitled to be represented by counsel in a contested revocation proceeding.

(c) As in the case of all other proceedings in open court, a record of the revocation proceeding should be made and preserved in such a manner that it can be transcribed as needed.

(d) An order revoking probation should be appealable after the offender has been resentenced.

ABA Standards Relating to Sentencing 6.4 and 6.5:

6.4 Modification of sentence: sentence not involving confinement or sentence to partial confinement.

(a) The sentencing court should be authorized to terminate at any time continued supervision or the power to revoke either a sentence not involving confinement or a sentence involving partial confinement. The court should also be authorized to lessen the conditions on which such sentences were imposed at any time, and similarly to shorten the time during which the power to revoke will exist.

(b) The court shall be authorized to revoke a sentence not involving confinement or a sentence to partial confinement upon the violation of specified conditions or to increase the conditions under which such a sentence will be permitted to continue in effect. The sentencing alternatives which should be available upon a revocation should be the same as were available at the time of initial sentencing. Specifically, such alternatives should include the imposition of a fine or the imposition of a sentence to partial or total confinement.

(c) The court should not impose a sentence of total confinement upon revocation unless:

(i) the defendant has been convicted of another crime. The sentence in such a case should respect the limitations on consecutive sentences expressed in section 3.4; or

(ii) the defendant's conduct indicates that it is likely that he will commit another crime if he is not imprisoned; or

(iii) such a sentence is essential to vindicate the authority of the court.

6.5 If the revocation of a sentence to partial confinement results in sentence to total confinement, credit should be given for all time spent in custody during the sentence to partial confinement.

ABA Standards Relating to Probation 1.1 (f):

Upon revocation of probation the court should have available the same sentencing alternatives that were available at the time of initial sentencing. The court should not foreclose any of these alternatives before revocation.

ACA Standards 3186, 3187, 3188, 3189, and 3190:

3186 The probation agency reports all alleged major violations of the conditions of probation to the statutorily defined revoking authority.

Discussion: Because violations of probation are adjudicated by the court or the revoking authority, it is essential that the proper authority be advised promptly of alleged violations. A recommendation as to disposition of the case should accompany all violation reports.

3187 Written policy and procedure specify the types of alleged violations that should be reported to the revoking authority and the reporting methods to be used.

Discussion: Equity and consistency require that written guidelines specify those types of alleged violations that should be reported. Consistency, equity and efficiency are important considerations in these guidelines.

3188 Written policy and procedure ensure that a probationer cannot be arrested for alleged violations of the conditions of probation without a written order of arrest and/or an arrest warrant based on probable cause that a violation has occurred. Warrantless arrests are permiited only when the violation involves commission of another crime and current legal standards for warrantless arrests have been met.

Discussion: To maximize the legal protection of both the probation agency and the probationer, it is essential that an arrest warrant be obtained except in those cases in which the alleged violation involves another crime. In this case, even though a warrant may not be required, all current legal standards for warrantless arrests must be met.

3189 Written policy provides that a violation of a condition of probation does not automatically result in recommendation for revocation of probation and imprisonment.

Discussion: Such recommendation should be made only if the staff determines, on the basis of the original offense and the offender's subsequent conduct, that confinement is necessary to protect the community from further criminal activity or that the offender requires assistance that can best be provided in confinement.

3190 Probation is revoked only after a review by the statutorily defined revoking authority.

Discussion: Before probation can be revoked it is essential that the probationer receive a fair and impartial hearing by a designated revoking authority which is independent of the field office supervising the probationer. The following procedural safeguards should apply to the revocation hearing: the probationer should have notice of the alleged violation, access to official records regarding the case, the right to confront and cross-examine witnesses, and a statement of the written findings of fact.

Finally, mention is made of the need to assure that decisions to revoke probation are subject to review.

NAC Standard 16.11:

> The legislation should authorize an appellate court on the initiation of the defendant to review decisions that deny probation, impose conditions, or revoke probation. Such review should include determination of the following:
>
> 1. Whether the decision is consistent with statutory criteria.
> 2. Whether the decision is unjustifiably disparate in comparison with cases of a similar nature.

3. Whether the decision is excessive or inappropriate.
4. Whether the manner in which the decision was arrived at is consistent with statutory and constitutional requirements.

Termination and Discharge

Both the ABA and the ACA recommend the desirability of early termination from probation supervision. The ABA places this decision with the courts, while the ACA suggests that the probation agency make the determination of eligibility for early release, based on annual case review.

ABA Standards 41. and 4.2:

> 4.1 Satisfactory completion of probation term.
> It should be provided that probation automatically terminates upon the successful completion of the term set by the court at the time of sentencing. It is never-the less desirable that the fact of termination be recorded in an order of the court, a copy of which should be furnished to the probationer.
>
> 4.2 Early termination.
> The sentencing court should have the authority to terminate probation at any time. Such authority should be exercised prior to the term fixed in the original sentence if it appears that the offender has made a good adjustment and that further supervision or enforced compliance with other conditions is no longer necessary.

ACA Standards 3182, 3183, and 3184:

> 3182 The agency seeks early termination of probation when it is clear that delivery of services to the probationer is no longer required to protect the community or enhance the probationer's overall performance.
>
> Discussion: It is important that the probation agency advise the court of those individuals whom it believes meet the criteria for early termination of probation. The courts rarely will have firsthand knowledge of cases that warrant termination; the probation agency should be active in identifying such individuals.
>
> 3183 Written policy and procedure provide for early termination of probation.

Discussion: The agency should develop, in collaboration with the courts, criteria for early termination of probation. These may include demonstrated successful adjustment in terms of nonarrest and nonconviction, and demonstrated stability in terms of residence, employment, family relationships, etc. Procedure may include case review by peers, supervisors and administrators or their representatives. Reduced intensity of supervision may be an appropriate step prior to early termination of probation.

3184 Written policy and procedure require at least an annual review of the probation period.

Discussion: Although unnecessary supervision is wasteful of resources, termination of probation when supervision is still required is also not in the public interest. An annual review should be conducted to ascertain whether continued probation is necessary. The results of this review should be documented in the case file.

Conditions

Both the NAC and the ABA recommend that the courts, not the probation officers, prescribe the conditions of probation. The ACA, on the other hand, seems to imply that more responsibility for this determination should be vested with the probation agency.

The ABA and the ACA advise that any condition of probation which requires payment by the probationer (restitution or fines) be based on his ability to pay, and that the costs of probation should not be borne by the probationer. The ACA suggests that supervision costs be borne by the jurisdiction establishing the probation agency.

NAC Standard 16.11:

> Criteria for probation conditions should be patterned after Sec. 301.1 of the Model Penal Code and should:
> 1. Authorize but not require the imposition of a range of specified conditions.
> 2. Require that any condition imposed in an individual case be reasonably related to the correctional program of the defendant and not unduly restrictive of his liberty, or incompatible with his constitutional rights.
> 3. Direct that conditions be fashioned on the basis of factors relating to the individual offender rather than to the offense committed.

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NAC Standard 5.4:

2. The court should be authorized to impose such conditions as are necessary to provide a benefit to the offender and protection to the public safety. The court also should be authorized to modify or enlarge the conditions of probation at any time prior to expiration or termination of sentence. The conditions imposed in an individual case should be tailored to meet the needs of the defendant and society, and mechanical imposition of uniform conditions on all defendants should be avoided.

3. The offender should be provided with a written statement of the conditions imposed and should be granted an explanation of such conditions. The offender should be authorized to request clarification of any condition from the sentencing judge. The offender should also be authorized on his own initiative to petition the sentencing judge for a modification of the conditions imposed.

ABA Standard 1.1 (c):

Upon a sentence to probation, the court should not be required to attach a condition of supervision by the probation department if in its judgment supervision is not appropriate for the particular case.

ABA Standards 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3:

3.1 Imposition and implementation of conditions.

(a) All conditions of probation should be prescribed by the sentencing court and presented to the probationer in writing. Their purpose and scope and the possible consequences of any violations should be explained to him by the sentencing court or at an early conference with a probation officer.

(b) Probation officers must have authority to implement judicially prescribed conditions; but the conditions should be sufficiently precise so that probation officers do not in fact establish them.

(c) The probationer should have the right to apply to the sentencing court for a clarification or change of conditions.

3.2 Nature and determination of conditions.

(a) It should be a condition of every sentence to probation that the probationer lead a law-abiding life during the period of his probation. No other conditions should be required by statute; but the sentencing court should be authorized to prescribe additional conditions to fit the circumstances of each case. Development of standard conditions as a guide to sentencing courts is appropriate so long as such conditions are not routinely imposed.

(b) Conditions imposed by the court should be designed to assist the probationer in leading a law-abiding life. They should be reasonable related to his rehabilitation and not unduly restrictive of his liberty or incompatible with his freedom of religion. They should not be so vague or ambiguous as to give no real guidance.

(c) Conditions may appropriately deal with matters such as the following:

(i) cooperating with a program of supervision;

(ii) meeting family responsibilities;

(iii) maintaining steady employment or engaging or refraining from engaging in a specific employment or occupation;

(iv) pursuing prescribed educational or vocational training;

(v) undergoing available medical or psychiatric treatment;

(vi) maintaining residence in a prescribed area or in a special facility established for or available to persons on probation;

(vii) refraining from consorting with certain types of people of frequenting certain types of places;

(viii) making restitution of the fruits of crime or reparation for loss of damage caused thereby.

(d) Conditions requiring payment of fines, restitution, reparation, or family support should not go beyond the probationer's ability to pay.

(e) The performance bond now authorized in some jurisdictions should not be employed as a condition of probation.

(f) Probationers should not be required to pay the costs of probation.

3.3 Modification and termination of conditions. Conditions should be subject to modification or termination by the court. All changes in conditions should be presented to the probationer in the manner prescribed in section 3.1 of this Report. Where the proposed modifications would result in a form of confinement as a condition of continued probation, the probationer should be afforded the procedural rights set forth in Part V of this Report.

ACA Standards 3191 and 3192:

3191 Staff recommendations regarding conditions of probation which require payment of fines, restitution, family support and the like are based on the probationer's ability to pay.

Discussion: Unrealistic and excessive payment schedules add impossible burdens to the probation organization and the probationer. The probation supervision plan should include provision for payment of all legal debts and obligations.

3192 Probationers are not required to pay the costs of probation.

Discussion: The costs of probation should be borne by the jurisdiction that established the probation agency.

Qualifications for Persons Providing Probation Services

Both the ABA and NAC standards call for a minimum educational requirement of a bachelor's degree for probation officers. The ABA expands the requirement, suggesting the need for post-graduate work in related disciplines, or a year's work experience in a related field. The ABA standards also recommend uniform state standards for all probation officers. The ACA expands its standards to include the recruitment of ex-offenders and paraprofessionals. They also call for continuing in-service training and education for employees.

ABA Standards 6.5 and 6.6:

> 6.5 Qualifications for probation officers; other personnel.
> (a) The educational and occupational requirements for probation officers should be possession of a bachelor's degree supplemented by:
> (i) a year of graduate study in social work, corrections, counseling, law, criminology, psychology, sociology, or related fields; or
> (ii) a year of full-time casework, counseling, community or group work experience in a recognized social, community, correctional or juvenile agency dealing with offenders or disadvantaged persons, or its equivalent as determined by the hiring agency.
> (b) A significant number of probation officers in a department should have graduate degrees in one of the subjects enumerated in this section.
> (c) While the core of any probation department should be professionally educated and trained personnel, it is desirable that the staff include individuals who may lack such professional qualifications but have backgrounds similar to those of the probationers themselves. In addition, in appropriate cases citizen volunteers should be used to assist probation officers.
>
> 6.6 Education and training.
> (a) Fellowships for graduate study should be made available to probation officers and college graduates interested in probation. In addition, probation officer

trainee programs combining work and education should be established for high school graduates and college students.

(b) In-service education and training programs should be jointly planned and developed by appropriate state agencies, universities, and local probation departments. In state and larger local probation departments, implementation of these programs should be made a full-time responsibility.

NAC Standard 10.4:

Each State immediately should develop a comprehensive manpower development and training program to recruit, screen, utilize, train, educate, and evaluate a full range of probation personnel, including volunteers, women, and ex-offenders. The program should range from entry level to top level positions and should include the following:

1. Provision should be made for effective utilization of a range of manpower on a full- or part-time basis by using a systems approach to identify service objectives and by specifying job tasks and range of personnel necessary to meet the objectives. Jobs should be reexamined periodically to insure that organizational objectives are being met.
2. In addition to probation officers, there should be new career lines in probation, all built into career ladders.
3. Advancement (salary and status) should be along two tracks: service delivery and administration.
4. Educational qualification for probation officers should be graduation from an accredited 4-year college.

ACA Standards 3042, 3043, 3048-3052, and 3066-3068:

3042 The qualifications, authority, tenure and responsibilities of the administrator are specified by statute or by the parent governmental organization.

Discussion: Explicit definition is necessary to ensure both that minimum standards are met and that opportunities for political interference with administrator appointments are reduced.

3043 The educational, operational and administrative qualifications of the agency administrator are specified in writing by the appointing authority and include, at a minimum, a baccalaureate degree in one of the social or behavioral sciences or a related field, five years of related administrative experience, and demonstrated administrative ability and leadership.

Discussion: To ensure that only qualified persons are recruited and apply for the position of administrator, the appointing authority should establish high qualifications, disseminate them widely, and recruit and hire on the basis of these qualifications.

3048 An entry level probation or parole officer possesses a baccalaureate degree in one of the social or behavioral sciences or a related field.

Discussion: Probation/parole officers must be able to think logically and make informed decisions, express themselves orally and in writing, understand relevant legislation and case law, learn organizational procedures, and work with community officials and agencies. A college education develops these aptitudes. Many jurisdictions require education beyond the baccalaureate degree, and graduate work in the social or behavioral sciences is encouraged to secure and develop competent staff.

3049 Written policy outlines experience and education substitutes for position qualifications.

Discussion: In cases where a person is highly qualified by reason of experience but does not possess the academic training required by the job description, a substitution of experience should be permitted. The experience must be directly related to the position sought. Similarly, there are cases where education may be substituted for experience.

3050 Where the agency uses paraprofessionals, written policy and procedure exist for their recruitment and the establishment of career lines for their advancement in the organization. Such policy and procedure govern staff supervision of paraprofessional personnel.

Discussion: Many tasks can be accomplished by persons not having previous professional training or experience. Agency training programs and adequate supervision can ensure that these tasks are accomplished competently. The use of paraprofessionals conserves resources and allows professional personnel more time to accomplish tasks for which they are best qualified.

3051 There is provision for the recruitment and employment of ex-offenders.

Discussion: Ex-offenders seeking employment with an agency should not be discriminated against. A program of selection, orientation, in-service training, constructive supervision, and opportunity for advancement will bring a valuable manpower resource to field services.

3066 All staff members receive a minimum of 40 hours of relevant training and education annually.

Discussion: A continuing and formal in-service training program is essential. The program should be continuous from orientation through management development. The program should have a high administrative priority and be adequately staffed and financed. Training goals and objectives should be articulated.

3067 In-service education and training programs are planned and developed jointly by the agency and appropriate city, county, state and federal agencies, colleges, and universities, and community organizations.

Discussion: The in-service education and training program should be related to goals and objectives and should be sufficiently diverse to meet varying staff needs. It should be available for all levels of staff and should be reviewed regularly for relevance and timeliness.

3068 Written policy and procedure encourage and provide for employees to continue their education and training.

Discussion: An agency can help its employees continue their education and training by allowing official time to attend college classes, staggering work hours to encourage school attendance, participating in the cost of the education or training program, and helping employees secure financial assistance.

By providing selected employees new job experiences on an assignment or rotation basis, the anegcy enables employees to fill more responsible roles while providing itself a source of qualified backup personnel and potential supervisors and managers.

Services to Probationers

The ABA standards relevant to probation services offer general guidelines concerning supervision and collateral services. They stress, however, that minimum standards for the delivery of services be uniform within a state. The ACA's standards are more specific with respect to agency requirements and procedures relating to supervision.

The ABA standards call for "sufficiently" low caseloads, while the ACA discusses the "workload" approach to determining the allocation of work to staff.

ABA Standards 6.2 (i) and 6.3:

> 6.2 Establishing minimum standards.
> Minimum standards for probation services should be

formulated and enforced by an appropriate state agency and should be applicable to all probation departments within the state. In addition to the standards recommended in this report, the following general principles are important in developing minimum standards:

(i) Supervision of probationers.

There should be a sufficiently low average caseload to provide adequate supervision for probationers and to encourage the development of variable caseloads for different types of offenders and assignment techniques which will maximize the benefit of offered supervision. In appropriate cases, supervision should be supplemented by group counseling and therapy programs. Where feasible, branch probation offices should be located in the community in which probationers live so as to meet more effectively the demands of supervision. To complement supervision, helping services should be obtained from community facilities in appropriate cases and, where necessary, probation personnel should actively intervene with such facilities on behalf of their probationers.

6.3 Collateral services.

In appropriate cases, probation departments should be prepared to provide additional services which may be foreign to the traditional conceptions of providing presentence reports and supervising convicted offenders. Examples of such additional services include the preparation of reports to assist courts in making pretrial release decisions and assistance to prosecutors in diverting selected charged individuals to appropriate noncriminal alternatives.

NAC Standard 10.2:

Each probation system should develop by 1975 a goal-oriented service delivery system that seeks to remove or reduce barriers confronting probationers. The needs of probationers should be identified, priorities established, and resources allocated based on established goals of the probation system...

1. Services provided directly should be limited to activities defined as belonging distinctly to probation. Other needed services should be procured from other agencies that have primary responsibility for them. It is essential that funds be provided for purchase of services.

2. The staff delivering services to probationers in urban areas should be separate and distinct from the staff delivering services to the courts, although they may be part of the same agency. The staff delivering services to probationers should be located in the communities where probationers live and in service centers with access to programs of allied human services.

3. The probation system should be organized to deliver to probationers a range of services by a range of staff. Various modules should be used for organizing staff and probationers into workloads or task groups, not caseloads. The modules should include staff teams related to groups of

probationers and differentiated programs based on offender typologies.

4. The primary function of the probation officer should be that of community resource manager for probationers.

ACA Standards 3112 to 3157:

3112 The agency's statement of purpose affirms that the supervision program is to provide necessary services to the offender with the goal of reducing the probability of continued criminal behavior on the part of the offender.

Discussion: Supervision should be intended for the protection of the community and for the provision of services to the offender that will reduce the probability of continued criminal behavior. Provision of adequate assistance and services to the offender is the best insurance against harm to the community.

3113 There exists a written workload formula which is used in the allocation of work to field staff.

Discussion: The formula should consider factors such as legal requirements, goals, character and needs of offenders to be supervised, geographic area, administrative tasks required of the field staff, and types of personnel to be utilized. A workload rather than a caseload model is based on programs of differential supervision ranging from intensive to minimal. Supervision tasks must be identified, measured against a time requirement, and then translated into specific total time and staff requirements.

3117 Written policy and procedure govern supervision and classification of probationers/parolees; criteria exist to ensure that no more surveillance or services are provided than are needed.

Discussion: A classification program should be used in order to safeguard the community and meet the program needs of the offender. Offenders should be placed in the appropriate supervision category immediately following the initial interview. Classification should be consistent with individual dignity and basic concepts of fairness, provide for maximum involvement of the offender, and include the concept of diminishing field supervision. Specific criteria should be defined for placement or retention in intensive or close field supervision categories. The policy should also cover the development of community resources, purchase of services and use of volunteers and paraprofessionals. In addition, it should be reviewed regularly and understood by staff.

3118 The field officer and the offender jointly develop objectives and a supervision plan, including its stated objectives.

Discussion: Planning that incorporates the needs, problems, capabilities, limitations and the participation of the offender provides a positive framework for the period of supervision. It is important that the goals and plans remain within the offender's capacity. The plan should incorporate those provisions necessary for proper supervision, such as reporting and testing requirements, compliance with regular or special conditions of probation/parole, etc.

3119 The field supervision plan is reviewed with the offender on an as-needed basis and adjusted in accordance with the offender's performance in the community.

Discussion: The agency's supervision system should include provision for the field officer to review with the offender the adjustment and/or progress the offender is making, and to revise the supervision plan and level of supervision as appropriate. This review should take place on an as-needed basis, but no less often than once every three months. Changes in the supervision plan are reviewed with the field officer's supervisor.

3120 The supervision plan requires that the field officer maintain personal contact with the offender.

Discussion: Supervision of the offender should include scheduled and unscheduled visits by the field officer to the offender's home and, when possible, place of employment. Office interviews are a useful supplement to the field supervision and, at times, provide the best setting to resolve administrative questions regarding the offender's case.

3121 The supervision plan requires that the field officer contact persons and agencies in the community that are familiar with the offender.

Discussion: It is essential that field officers monitor the progress of offenders in the community. Field officers should not depend solely upon their own insights, but should supplement them with information from others, so that a more accurate evaluation and assessment will emerge. These contacts (i.e., employment, residence, family, friends) should be according to a plan, have a specific purpose, and be adjusted as offender performance and behavior in the community change.

3122 Supervision services are available 24 hours a day.

Discussion: The needs of offenders do not emerge only during business hours; it is necessary that services exist around-the-clock and on weekends. The 24-hour availability of field services should be made known to offenders, and staff should be advised of these hours by publication of formal schedules. Use should be made of split shifts, duty officers,

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and all-night and weekend telephone numbers.

3123 Community supervision procedures specify the minimum number of contacts with the offender per time perior, with provision at the local level to exceed this minimum if warranted.

Discussion: A specified minimum number of contacts with the offender helps ensure that the state, through the field officer, stays informed about the offender's location nad activities. This monitoring requirement also serves to remind offenders that they remain under legal jurisdiction and must meet certain obligations. Provision should be made for officers and their supervisors, in case conferences, to determine the case services to be provided and the number of case contacts included in this service. The range and nature of field and office contacts should be commensurate with the agency's classification program and supervision plan for each offender. Waiver of the minimum contacts should be permitted under circumstances such as extreme climactic conditions, unusual tension or violence potential in a neighborhood, etc.

3126 Written policy and procedure provide for special case services for offenders with specific types of problems; these are reviewed at least annually.

Discussion: Grouping offenders by problem and placing them under the supervision of a specially trained and experienced field officer can result in better supervision and improved services to the offenders. Types of offenders that could be placed in specialized caseloads include drug addicts, alcoholics, mentally ill, senile and physically handicapped offenders, and individuals needing intensive or special surveillance, etc. There usually are field officers with interest in these areas who either have or would be willing to undergo additional training and education in order to handle such a specialized caseload. For the majority of these caseloads, it is adviasble, if not necessary, to reduce the size of the caseload because of the extra attention required.

3127 The agency identifies the collective service needs of its probationers/ parolees at least biennially.

Discussion: Although the service needs of individual offenders are important, the agency has a responsibility to assess periodically the collective needs of all its offenders to ensure that it is maximizing the delivery of services. The agency should concentrate on developing those community resources that will be of value to many offenders. Determination of collective needs will emerge from a careful screening of case files and discussions with staff, offenders and community agencies.

3128 Community resources are developed to provide services to offenders, and field staff actively support community efforts on behalf of offenders.

Discussion: Probation and parole are community-oriented and community-centered. The agency should be a catalyst, mobilizer, and developer of community resources, so that offenders can benefit from a wide variety of these resources. Field officers should serve as community organizers in addition to their more traditional roles. The agency should include such activities in the assignment of designated field staff, and invest both money and top management effort to broaden the scope of community services for offenders.

3129 The agency maintains an effective and cooperative working relationship with public and private service agencies.

Discussion: The agency should maintain a list of the services that are available from public and private service agencies, and should outline the procedures whereby offenders are referred for assistance. This document should be distributed to all field staff. Designated field staff should serve as liaison with the larger service agencies, such as departments of employment, vocational rehabilitation, public assistance, etc.

3130 The agency maintains a qualitative and current inventory of functioning community agencies.

Discussion: To ensure that parolees and probationers are receiving the help for which they are referred to community service agencies, the probation/parole agency should evaluate these resources periodically, and maintain and distribute to all field officers a current inventory of effective agencies. Community resources that are not proving effective should be informed in writing and offered whatever assistance possible in order to become fully functional.

3131 The agency devotes specific resources to assisting employable offenders find suitable employment.

Discussion. The agency should maintain close liaison with the state department of employment, both at the headquarters and at local offices, in order to remain abreast of the changing labor market and to ensure that eligible offenders obtain job placement assistance. Field staff should solicit job placement assistance from labor unions, private sector businesses, and community action and self-help groups.

3132 The agency has provisions to assist offenders financially; field officers are instructed and trained in methods to obtain financial assistance for offenders from community resources.

Discussion: Adequate financial support is essential for individuals beginning probation or parole with no income. Such offenders should have enough funds or resources to maintain themselves for at least three weeks, or until a first payday. The agency's budget should include funds for cash assistance so that offenders in crisis situations can obtain loans promptly. Public assistance and welfare officers increasingly are extending financial help to offenders in need, and field officers should know where and how this help is available. Other public and private agencies extend financial assistance in selected cases, and field officers should know how to use these sources. Agencies should plan for some form of unemployment compensation for released offenders until they are gainfully employed.

3133 Written policy and procedure provide for enrolling and supporting offenders in educational programs and vocational training.

Discussion: Long considered part of the aftercare program for juveniles, educational and training programs are becoming significant resources for adult offenders. In recent years more federal funds have been made available to finance the academic education and vocational training of selected adult and juvenile offenders. Vocational rehabilitation agencies are also active in providing services for eligible offenders. The agency should identify and support programs featuring education and training. Staff should be designated to serve as liaison with major program offices, and the agency should maintain close cooperative relationships with colleges and trade schools for purposes of developing suitable programs of learning for offenders.

3134 The agency supports programs that provide offenders acceptable leisure time activities.

Discussion: For those offenders who want to learn how to use their leisure time in an acceptable and satisfying manner, the agency should provide guidance on programs and activities available in the community. The agency should participate in the development of community programs that would provide offenders leisure time activities.

3136 Written policy and procedure preclude offenders being confronted with possible probation/parole violations for failure to meet financial obligations other than those which are conditions of probation/parole.

Discussion: The agency should not be placed in the position of collection agency for the community. The agency and field

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officer should not enforce the collection of civil obligations by threats of probation/parole violation. Court-ordered debts, such as fines, restitution and child support, should be paid, and provision is made in the supervision plan for payment of such obligations.

3145 Agency staff can recommend that special conditions be added to the general conditions of probation/parole in individual cases when such conditions will enhance community protection and/or facilitate the offender's adjustment in the community.

Discussion: One condition of probation/parole is applicable to all offenders - that they obey the law. Other conditions are added to this basic requirement to the extent that they add protection to the public and/or ensure the delivery of services to the offender. Conditions should be tailored to individual offenders, reviewed regularly, and amended if required. They should be realistic, few in number, and phrased in positive rather than negative terms.

Presentence Activities

The following compilation of ABA and NAC standards addresses the information which should be available to the court when it determines whether to sentence an offender to probation. These standards address topics such as requirements for presentence investigation reports, time of preparation, report content, and problems involved in disclosure. The ACA standards, while on a more technical level, closely follow the other two sets. All three preclude the initiation of a presentence investigation prior to adjudication of guilt, except under specific circumstances.

ABA Standards Relating to Probation 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5:

2.1 Availability and use.

(a) All courts trying criminal cases should be supplied with the resources and supporting staff to permit a presentence investigation and a written report of its results in every case.

(b) The court should explicitly be authorized by statute to call for such an investigation and report in every case. The statute should also provide that such an investigation and report should be made in every case where incarceration for one year or more is a possible disposition, where the defendant is less than [21] years old, or where the defendant is a first offender, unless the court specifically orders to the contrary in a particular case.

2.2 Purpose of the report.

The primary purpose of the presentence report is to provide the sentencing court with succinct and precise information upon which to base a rational sentencing decision. Potential use of the report by other agencies in the correctional process should be recognized as a factor in determining the content and length of the report, but should be subordinated to its primary purpose. Where the presentence investigation discloses information useful to other correctional agencies, methods should be developed to assure that this data is made available for their use.

2.3 Content, scope and length of the report.

Presentence reports should be flexible in format, reflecting differences in the background of different offenders and making the best use of available resources and probation department capabilities. Each probation department should develop gradations of reports between:

(i) a short-form report for primary use in screening offenders in order to assist in a determination of when additional and more complete information is desirable. Short-form reports could also be useful in courts which do not have adequate probation services;

(ii) a full report, which normally should contain the following items:

(A) a complete description of the offense and the circumstances surrounding it, not limited to aspects developed for the record as part of the determination of guilt;

(B) a full description of any prior criminal record of the offender;

(C) a description of the educational background of the offender;

(D) a description of the employment background of the offender, including any military record and including his present employment status and capabilities;

(E) the social history of the offender, including family relationships, marital status, interests and activities, residence history, and religious affiliations;

(F) the offender's medical history and, if desirable, a psychological or psychiatric report;

(G) information about environments to which the offender might return or to which he could be sent should probation be granted;

(H) supplementary reports from clinics, institutions and other social agencies with which the offender has been involved;

(I) information about special resources which might be available to assist the offender, such as treatment centers, residential facilities, vocational training services, special educational facilities, rehabilitative programs of various

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institutions to which the offender might be committed, special programs in the probation department, and other similar programs which are particularly relevant to the offender's situation;

(J) a summary of the most significant aspects of the report, including specific recommendations as to the sentence if the sentencing court has so requested.

A special effort should be made in the preparation of presentence reports not to burden the court with irrelevant and unconnected details.

2.4 When prepared.

(a) Except as authorized in subsection (b), the presentence investigation should not be initiated until there has been an adjudication of guilt.

(b) It is appropriate to commence the presentence investigation prior to an adjudication of guilt only if:

(i) the defendant, with the advice of counsel if he so desires, has consented to such action; and

(ii) adequate precautions are taken to assure that nothing disclosed by the presentence investigation comes to the attention of the prosecution, the court, or the jury prior to an adjudication of guilt. The court should be authorized, however, to examine the report prior to the entry of a plea on request of the defense and prosecution.

2.5 Availability of report; challenge of its contents.

Standards dealing with the disclosure of the presentence report and the resolution of controversy as to its accuracy are developed in the separate report of this Advisory Committee on Sentencing Alternatives and Procedures.

ABA Standards Relating to Sentencing 4.1, 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, and 4.6:

4.1 Presentence report: general principles.

(a) The legislature should supply all courts trying criminal cases with the resources and supporting staff to permit a presentence investigation and a written report of its results in every case.

(b) The court should explicitly be authorized by statute to call for such an investigation and report in every case. The statute should provide that such an investigation and report should be made in every case where incarceration for one year of more is a possible disposition, where the defendant is less than [21] years old, of where the defendant is a first offender, unless the court specifically orders to the contrary in a particular case.

(c) Standards relating to the preparation and contents of the presentence report will be developed in a separate report on probation.

4.3 Presentence report; disclosure; general principles.

The presentence report should not be a public record. It should be available only to the following persons or

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agencies under the conditions stated:

(i) The report should be available to the sentencing court for the purpose of assisting it in determining the sentence. The report should also be available to all judges who are to participate in a sentencing council discussion of the defendant (section 7.1);

(ii) The report should be available to persons or agencies having a legitimate professional interest in the information likely to be contained therein. Examples of such persons or agencies would be a physician or psychiatrist appointed to assist the court in sentencing, an examining facility, a correctional institution, or a probation or parole department;

(iii) The report should be available to reviewing courts where relevant to an issue on which an appeal has been taken;

(iv) The report should be available to the parties under the conditions stated in section 4.4.

4.4 Presentence report; disclosure; parties.

(a) Fundamental fairness to the defendant requires that the substance of all derogatory information which adversely affects his interests and which has not otherwise been disclosed in open court should be called to the attention of the defendant, his attorney, and others who are acting on his behalf.

(b) This principle should be implemented by requiring that the sentencing court permit the defendant's attorney, or the defendant himself if he has no attorney, to inspect the report. The prosecution should also be shown the report if it is shown to the defense. In extraordinary cases, the court should be permitted to except from disclosure parts of the report which are not relevant to a proper sentence diagnostic opinion which might seriously disrupt a program of rehabilitation, or sources of information which has been obtained on a promise of confidentiality. In all cases where parts of the report are not disclosed under such authority, the court should be required to state for the record its action and to inform the defendant and his attorney that information has not been disclosed. The action of the court in excepting information from disclosure should be subject to appellate review.

(c) The resolution of any controversy as to the accuracy of the presentence report should be governed by the principles stated in sections 4.5(b), 5.3(f), and 5.4(a).

4.5 Presentence report; time of disclosure; presentence conference.

(a) The information made available to the parties under section 4.4 should be disclosed sufficiently prior to the imposition of sentence as to afford a reasonable opportunity for verification.

(b) In cases where the presentence report has been open to inspection, each party should be required prior to the sentencing proceeding to notify the opposing party and the court of any part of the report which he intends to controvert by the production of evidence. It may then be advisable for the court and the parties to discuss the possibility of avoiding the reception of evidence by a stipulation as to the disputed part of the report. A record of the resolution of any issue at such conference should be preserved for inclusion in the record of the sentencing proceeding (section 5.7[a][iii]).

4.6 Additional services.

(a) The sentencing decision is of such complexity that each sentencing court must have available to is a broad range of services and facilities from which it can obtain more complete information about the defendant's mental, emotional and physical condition than can be afforded in the presentence report. The court should be able to employ such services in any case in which more detailed information of this type is desired as the basis for a sentence.

(b) The need for such additional services can and should be met by a combination of local services or facilities, such as by authority to employ local physicians or clinics on a case-by-case basis and of regional, statewide or nationwide services or facilities such as a central reception and diagnostic center.

(c) There is an urgent need for the various disciplines which are in a position to provide such services to develop professional standards by which high quality can be assured.

(d) Reports which result from the use of such services or facilities should be subject to the same disclosure and verification provisions as those which govern presentence reports.

NAC Standard 16.10:

Each State should enact by 1975 legislation authorizing a presentence investigation in all cases and requiring it:

1. In all felonies.
2. In all cases where the offender is a minor.
3. As a prerequisite to a sentence of confinement in any case.

The legislation should require disclosure of the presentence report to the defendant, his counsel, and the prosecutor.

NAC Standard 5.14:

Sentencing courts immediately should develop standards for determining when a presentence report should be required and the kind and quantity of information needed to insure more equitable and correctionally appropriate dispositions. The guidelines should reflect the following:

1. A presentence report should be presented to the court

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in every case where there is a potential sentencing disposition involving incarceration and in all cases involving felonies or minors.

2. Gradations of presentence reports should be developed between a full report and a short-form report for screening offenders to determine whether more information is desirable or for use when a full report is unnecessary.

3. A full presentence report should be prepared where the court determines it to be necessary, and without exception in every case where incarceration for more than 5 years is a possible disposition. A short-form report should be prepared for all other cases.

4. In the event that an offender is sentenced, either initially or on revocation of a less confining sentence, to either community supervision or total incarceration, the presentence report should be made a part of his official file.

5. The full presentence report should contain a complete file on the offender - his background, his prospects of reform, and details of the crime for which he has been convicted. Specifically, the full report should contain at least the following items:

a. Complete description of the situation surrounding the criminal activity with which the offender has been charged, including a full synopsis of the trial transcipts, if any; the offender's version of the criminal act; and his explanation for the act.

b. The offender's educational background.

c. The offender's employment background, including any military record, his present employment status, and capabilities.

d. The offender's social history, including family relationships, marital status, interests and activities.

e. Residence history of the offender.

f. The offender's medical history, and, if desirable, a psychological or psychiatric report.

g. Information about environments to which the offender might return or to which he could be sent should a sentence of nonincarceration or community supervision be imposed.

h. Information about any resources available to assist the offender, such as treatment centers, residential facilities, vocational training services, special educational facilities, rehabilitative programs of various institutions, and similar programs.

i. Views of the person preparing the report as to the offender's motivations and ambitions, and an assessment of the offender's explanations for his criminal activity.

j. A full description of defendant's criminal record, including his version of the offenses, and his explanation for them.

k. A recommendation as to disposition.

6. The short-form report should contain the information required in sections 5 a, c, d, e, h, i, and k.

7. All information in the presentence report should be factual and verified to the extent possible by the preparer

of the report. On examination at the sentencing hearing, the preparer of the report, if challenged on the issue of verification, should bear the burden of explaining why it was impossible to verify the challenged information. Failure to do so should result in the refusal of the court to consider the information.

NAC Standard 5.15:

Sentencing courts immediately should adopt a procedure to inform the defendant of the basis for his sentence and afford him the opportunity to challenge it.

1. The presentence report and all similar documents should be available to defense counsel and the prosecution.
2. The presentence report should be made available to both parties within a reasonable time, fixed by the court, prior to the date set for the sentencing hearing. After receipt of the report, the defense counsel may request:
   a. A presentence conference, to be held within the time remaining before the sentencing hearing.
   b. A continuance of one week, to allow him further time to review the report and prepare for its rebuttal.

Either request may be made orally, with notice to the prosecutor. The request for a continuance should be granted only:

(1) If defense counsel can demonstrate surprise at information in the report; and

(2) If the defendant presently is incarcerated, he consents to the request.

NAC Standard 5.16:

Sentencing courts immediately should develop guidelines as to the preparation of presentence reports prior to adjudication, in order to prevent possible prejudice to the defendant's case and to avoid undue incarceration prior to sentencing. The guidelines should reflect the following:

1. No presentence report should be prepared until the defendant has been adjudicated guilty of the charged offense unless:
   a. The defendant on advice of counsel, has consented to allow the investigation to proceed before adjudication;

   b. The defendent is presently incarcerated pending trial; and
   c. Adequate precautions are taken to assure that nothing disclosed by the presentence investigation comes to the attention of the prosecution, the court, or the jury prior to adjudication.
2. Upon a showing that the report has been available to the judge prior to adjudication of guilt, there should be a presumption of prejudice, which the State may rebut at the sentencing hearing.

ACA Standards 3193 through 3208:

3193 Written policy specifies that the primary purpose of the presentence report is to provide the sentencing court with timely, relevant, and accurate data so that it may select the most appropriate sentencing alternative and correctional disposition.

Discussion: The potential use of the presentence report by other agencies in the correctional system may be a factor in determining the content and format of the report, but the needs of the sentencing court should not be subordinated to those of other agencies.

3194 The agency assigns the resources required to ensure the timely completion of investigations and reports.

Discussion: Sufficient staff, time, space and equipment should be assigned to all presentence functions. Although the resources assigned the presentence investigation and report function should not adversely affect the delivery of other probation services, a presentence investigation and preparation of a report should not exceed three weeks in general, or two weeks for an offender in custody. These time frames, however, must consider the nature of the offense, complexity of the offender's circumstances, possible dispositions, availability of prior reports, and necessity of delivering the report to the court in time for review and analysis.

3195 Written policy and procedure govern the conduct of presentence investigations, preparation of reports, and provision of sentencing alternatives for the court.

Discussion: Written guidelines help ensure high quality investigations and reports and minimal disparities in the provision of sentencing alternatives. The guidelines should be developed in collaboration with the court and be reviewed regularly.

3196. The agency administrator supervises and reviews, on a continuing basis, the conduct of presentence investigations, the preparation of reports, and the provision of of sentencing alternatives.

Discussion: The fact that clearly defined policies exist in the agency does not lessen the need for supervision. Supervision ensures quality control of the probation process.

3197. Written policy specifies that a presentence investigation is not conducted nor a presentence report prepared until the defendant has been adjudicated guilty of an offense, unless:

the defendant, on advice of counsel, has consented to

allow the investigation to proceed before adjudication;
the defendant is incarcerated pending trial; and
adequate precautions are taken to ensure that information disclosed during the presentence investigation does not come to the attention of the prosecution, the court or the jury prior to adjudication.

Discussion: The conduct of a presentence investigation and completion of a report prior to adjudication of the charges are unnecessary and should be used only under exceptional circumstances. Inadvertent disclosure of the findings could compromise the defendant's rights, and findings of not guilty could waste resources.

3198 Written policy and procedure permit the use of staff other than probation officers to collect information during the presentence investigation.

Discussion: Some of the data required in an investigation and for the presentence report may be collected by nonprofessional staff (i.e., paraprofessionals, volunteers, students, clerical), thus freeing probation officers to use their skills for interpreting the data and developing a probation plan.

3199 A potential supervision plan is developed during the presentence investigation and included as part of the presentence report.

Discussion: It is necessary to ensure that, if probation is granted, a plan will be available on the first day of supervision. The plan should include such considerations as employment, residence, education, etc., and should be developed with the offenders. To the degree possible, the probation officer who will supervise the probationer should participate in the development of this plan. The plan should be realistic in that both the goals set and the resources required are attainable.

3200 Written policy and procedure ensure that special attention is given to seeking innovative alternatives to traditional sentencing dispositions.

Discussion: The traditional dispositions in adult courts are probation, confinement in a local facility, or confinement in a state correctional institution. It is important to seek other alternatives that may permit a better balance between the dual needs of protecting the community and providing for the welfare of the defendant. The appropriate time to search for alternatives is during the presentence investigation. The use of alternatives such as halfway houses, detoxification centers, civil addict commitment programs, and self-help groups may be appropriate. Attention also should be given to finding resources that would permit use of individualized probation supervision programs if probation is ordered.

3201 The probation agency promotes the use of and seeks the resources to process a presentence report in every case in which there is a potential sentencing disposition involving incarceration for one year or longer, and in every case involving first offenders and minors.

Discussion: Presentence reports can furnish the sentencing court accurate, complete, and relevant data that may indicate the advisability of an alternative to confinement. Sufficient time shall be provided to conduct a thorough presentence investigation and prepare a complete report.

3202 Written policy and procedure provide for the use of different presentence report formats to meet the specific needs of the courts and correctional agencies.

Discussion: The information and analyses needed by the courts vary by offense, offender and sentencing options available. The agency should collaborate with the courts to determine which report format should be used for particular cases. As a basic principle, enough data should be collected and analyzed so that the most appropriate sentencing alternative may be selected to protect the community and serve the needs of the offender.

3203 If probation is one of the sentencing alternatives, the probation officer identifies the need for special conditions of probation, if any, and recommends that these special conditions be appended to the general conditions of probation.

Discussion: In addition to those general conditions of probation which are applicable to all probationers, possible special conditions should be identified during the presentence investigation, recommended to the court, and appended to the general conditions by the court if it appears that these additional conditions will enhance public safety or increase the probability of a successful community adjustment. Special conditions should be few in number, realistic, and phrased in positive rather than negative terms.

3204 Where statutes permit, confinement, full or part-time, should be part of a probation grant only in selected cases, where circumstances clearly indicate need for confinement.

Discussion: Probation is a sentence in itself. Confinement as a condition of probation should be discouraged unless it clearly will contribute to public safety or the likelihood of better community adjustment. Localized confinement disrupts all aspects of the probationer's life and should be used sparingly and for particular purposes. The use of "week-end" sentences may be more appropriate as a condition of probation than continuous confinement.

3205 The presentence report is submitted to the court for review and evaluation a minimum of two working days in advance of the date set for sentencing.

Discussion: Preparation of quality reports is irrelevant if the court does not have sufficient time to read and assess the document and perhaps discuss it with probation staff. A minimum of two full days is seen as essential for the court's review, but this generalized frame must be adjusted to judicial schedules and workloads.

3206 All presentence reports and recommendations are subject to review by a supervisor prior to submission to the court.

Discussion: Supervisory review of presentence reports and recommendations serves several purposes: ensures that functions are being properly implemented in accordance with policy, objectives and procedures; helps to determine that the court will get the needed information in the correct format; ensures that each recommendation is reasonable and supported by the information provided; and contributes to the training of personnel and the development of skills and knowledge.

3207 Written policy and procedure protect the confidentiality of presentence reports and case records.

Discussion: The issue of confidentiality extends beyond the courtroom and should permeate the entire investigation and report process from receipt of the case for investigation through final destruction of documents. Information about cases should not be discussed openly, and files and records should not be left unattended or given to persons who do not have a proper and legitimate interest in the case.

3208 Written procedure ensures the timely transmittal by the probation agency of presentence report data to institutional personnel where confinement of the adjudicated offender is ordered.

Discussion: In those instances in which the offender is ordered confined, presentence materials should be provided the receiving institution to assist in its classification process. Written guidelines, developed in collaboration with agencies receiving committed offenders, should be available and cover such matters as method and timing of transmittal of documents.

Case Records, Management Information Systems, and Research

The following standards address the topics of case records, management information systems, and research. The ABA merely cites the rationale for research and statistics:

ABA Standard 6.2 (ii):

> Accurate and uniform records and statistics should be available as a foundation for research into sentencing criteria and probation department programs. Continuous research and evaluation, involving a cooperative effort among operations and research personnel, should be an integral part of probation departments.

Both the NAC and the ACA discuss the establishment of parameters for these topics in great detail. Emphasis is placed on administrative control of the information assembled, the necessity for keeping information in a logical and coherent system, the promotion of research efforts, and the agreement upon definitions of terms such as recidivism. The NAC goes farther, however, strongly advising large state and even inter-state information systems.

NAC Standard 15.1:

> Each State by 1978 should develop and maintain, or cooperate with other States in the development and maintenance of, a correctional information system to collect, store, analyze, and display information for planning, operational control, offender tracking, and program review for all State and county correctional programs and agencies.
>
> 1. Statewide information systems should be feasible for the larger States. Local and central correctional components (facilities, branch offices, programs) of all sizes should be included in such systems. Regional (multistate) systems should be feasible for smaller States.
> 2. In all cases, the State or regional system should store local data, with access provided through terminals at various points throughout the State. Control of the system should be in the hands of participating agency representatives. Until unified correctional systems are established, admission to the system should be voluntary, but benefits should be clear enough to encourage

membership. A share of the development costs should be borne by the State or regional consortium.

3. In States where data processing for the department of corrections must be done on a shared computer facility under the administration of some other agency, the programers and analysts for the department should be assigned full time to it and should be under the complete administrative control of the department of corrections.

4. The department of corrections should be responsible for maintaining the security and privacy of records in its data base and should allow data processing of its records only under its guidance and administrative authority. This should not be construed as prohibitive, as the department of corrections should encourage research in the correctional system and provide easy access to authorized social science researchers. (Only information that would identify individuals should be withheld.)

5. The information-statistics function should be placed organizationally so as to have direct access to the top administrators of the department. The director of the information group should report directly to the agency administrator.

6. The mission of the information-statistics function should be broad enough to assume informational and research support to all divisions within the department of corrections and to support development of an offender-based transaction system. Priorities of activity undertaken should be established by the top administrators in consultation with the director of the information system.

NAC Standard 15.2

Each State, in the implementation of Standard 15.5 should provide minimum capabilities for analysis and interpretation of information. For all but the largest components (facilities, branch offices, programs) a small information and statistics section capable of periodic reports on the consequences of policy and decisionmaking will suffice. Larger components will benefit from having a professional staff capable of designing and executing special assessment studies to amplify and explicate reports generated by the information system. Staffing for research and information functions should reflect these considerations:

1. Where the component's size is sufficient to support one or more full-time positions, priority should be given to assigning an information manager who should have minimum qualifications as a statistician. The manager should have full responsibility for coordination and supervision of inputs into the system. He also should edit, analyze, and interpret all output material, preparing tables and interpretive reports as indicated.

2. Where the size of the component does not warrant the allocation of full-time positions to information and statistics, one professional staff member should be designated to perform the functions outlined above on a part-time basis.

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3. The manager of the State information system should use members of his staff as training officers and technical consultants. In States where unification has not been achieved, these persons should be responsible for familiarizing county and local correctional administrative and information staff with system requirements and the advantageous use of output.

4. Other steps to achieve effective communication of information include the following:

a. Researchers and analysts should be given formal training in communication of results to administrators. Such training should include both oral and written communications.

b. The training program of the National Institute of Corrections should include a session for administrators that covers new techniques in the use of computers, information, and statistics.

c. Where feasible, management display centers should be constructed for communication of information to administrators. The center should have facilities for graphic presentation of analyses and other information.

NAC Standard 15.3:

Each State, in the establishment of its information system under Standard 15.1, should design it to facilitate four distinct functions:

1. Offender accounting.
2. Administrative-management decisionmaking.
3. Ongoing departmental research.
4. Rapid response to ad hoc inquiries.

The design of the correctional information system should insure capability for provision of the following kinds of information and analysis:

1. Point-in-time net results - routine analysis of program status, such as:
    a. Basic population characteristics.
    b. Program definition and participants.
    c. Personnel characteristics.
    d. Organizational units, if any.
    e. Fiscal data.
2. Period-in-time reports - a statement of flow and change over a specified period for the same items available in the point-in-time net results report. The following kinds of data should be stored:
    a. Summary of offender events and results of events.
    b. Personnel summaries.
    c. Event summaries by population characteristics.
    d. Event summaries by personnel characteristics.
    e. Fiscal events summarized by programs.
3. Automatic notifications - the system should be designed to generate exception reports for immediate delivery. Four kinds of exception reports are basic:
    a. Volume of assignments to programs or units varying

from a standard capacity.

b. Movement of any type that varies from planned movement.

c. Noncompliance with established decision criteria.

d. Excessive time in process.

4. Statistical-analytical relationships - reports of correlations between certain variables and outcomes, analysis of statistical results for a particular program or group of offenders, etc.

NAC Standard 15.4:

Each State, in the establishment of its information system under Standard 15.1, should design its data base to satisfy the following requirements:

1. The information-statistics function of offender accounting, administrative decisionmaking, ongoing research, and rapid response to questions should be reflected in the design.

2. The data base should allow easy compilation of an annual statistical report, including sections on population characteristics tabulated for given points in time, a recapitulation of population movement for the full year, and an analysis of recidivism by offense and other characteristics.

3. The data base should include all data required at decision points. The information useful to corrections personnel at each decision point in the corrections system should be ascertained in designing the data base.

4. The requirements of other criminal justice information systems for corrections data should be considered in the design, and an interface between the corrections system and other criminal justice information systems developed, including support of offender-based transaction systems.

5. All data base records should be individual-based and contain elements that are objectively codable by a clerk. The procedures for coding data should be established. uniformly.

6. The integrity and quality of data in each record is the responsibility of the information group. Periodic audits should be made and quality control procedures established.

7. The corrections information-statistics system should be designed and implemented modularly to accommodate expansion of the data base. Techniques should be established for pilot testing new modules without disrupting ongoing operations of the system. Interactions with planners and administrators should occur before introduction of innovations.

8. Data bases should be designed for future analyses, recognizing the lag between program implementation and evaluation.

9. The results of policies (in terms of evaluation) should be reported to administrators, and data base content should be responsive to the needs of changing practices and policies

to guarantee that the all-important feedback loop will not be broken.

10. The initial design to the corrections data base should recognize that change will be continual. Procedures to assure smooth transitions should be established.

NAC Standard 15.5:

Each correctional agency immediately should begin to make performance measurements on two evaluative levels - overall performance or systems reviews as measured by recidivism, and program reviews that emphasize measurement of more immediate program goal achievement. Agencies allocating funds for correctional programs should require such measurements. Measurement and review should reflect these considerations:

1. For system reviews, measurement of recidivism should be the primary evaluative criterion. The following definition of recidivism should be adopted nationally by all correctional agencies to facilitate comparisons among jurisdictions and compilation of national figures:

Recidivism is measured by (1) criminal acts that resulted in conviction by a court, when committed by individuals who are under correctional supervision or who have been released from correctional supervision within the previous three years, and by (2) technical violations of probation or parole in which a sentencing or paroling authority took action that resulted in an adverse change in the offender's legal status.

Technical violations should be maintained separately from data on reconvictions. Also, recidivism should be reported in a manner to discern patterns of change. At a minimum, statistical tables should be prepared every 6 months during the 3-year follow-up period, showing the number of recidivists. Discriminations by age, offense, length of sentence, and disposition should be provided.

2. Program review is a more specific type of evaluation that should entail these five criteria of measurement:

a. Measurement of effort, in terms of cost, time, and types of personnel employed in the project in question.

b. Measurement of performance, in terms of whether immediate goals of the program have been achieved.

c. Determination of adequacy of performance, in terms of the program's value for offenders exposed to it as shown by individual followup.

d. Determination of efficiency, assessing effort and performance for various programs to see which are most effective with comparable groups and at what costs.

e. Study of process, to determine the relative contributions of process to goal achievement, such as attributes of the program related to success or failure, recipients of the program who are more or less benefited, conditions affecting program delivery, and effects produced by the program. Program reviews should provide for classification of offenders by relevant types (age, offense category, base expectancy rating, psychological state or type, etc.). Evaluative measurement should be applied to discrete and defined cohorts. Where recidivism data are to be used, classifications should be related to reconvictions and technical violations of probation or parole as required in systems review.

3. Assertions of system or program success should not be based on unprocessed percentages of offenders not reported in recidivism figures. That is, for individuals to be claimed as successes, their success must be clearly related in some demonstrable way to the program to which they were exposed.

The following ACA standards relate specifically to agency responsibilities within the areas of case records, management information systems, and research.

ACA Standards 3084 and 3088:

> 3084 The agency maintains written records of significant decisions and events regarding probationers/parolees.
>
> Discussion: Such records should include reasons for the offender's entry into the system, actions taken by the offender and officer, and rationales for significant decisions from entry until termination of supervision. Comprehensive case records expedite case reviews and conserve resources.
>
> 3088 A written report is prepared that summarizes the performance of the offender during the entire period of supervision.
>
> Discussion: At the conclusion of probation/parole supervision, a "summary of supervision" report should be prepared that indicates what occurred during supervision. The report should include unusual occurrences, the use or unavailability of community resources that affected the outcome of the supervision, and the field officer's assessment of the reasons for the success or failure of the outcome. These reports may provide guidance for the conduct of future cases.

ACA Standards 3089 through 3096:

> 3089 The agency has access to and uses an organized system of information retrieval and review that is part of an overall research capacity.
>
> Discussion: Management information systems and research facilitate decisionmaking, research, and timely responses to offender needs and outside inquiries. These services often are provided by a division of a large state-wide

correctional system. If the parent agency does not provide these functions, the agency should assign selected personnel to the data collection function. Adequate training should be provided these personnel.

3090 The agency administrator establishes or participates in the establishment of policies and procedures for collecting, recording, organizing, processing and reporting data developed for management information purposes; these policies are reviewed at least annually.

Discussion: Although other agency personnel may be assigned to these tasks, the agency administration is ultimately responsible for their accomplishment. The administration should review, at least annually, all aspects of the management information system for relevance, completeness, effectiveness and efficiency.

3091 The agency administrator has established a procedure for receiving regular reports from those individuals in charge of the information system and research program.

Discussion: Those in charge of the agency's information system, related data collection and research program should report to the agency administrator at least monthly. Appointment of a single director to be responsible for the information system and research efforts may facilitate the reporting procedure.

3092 Using agency goals and objectives as guidelines, agency staff identify information needs prior to the collection of data for the management information system.

Discussion: The information system should have the capacity to deliver two basic types of information: (1) Standard information, consisting of the data required for management control, such as the probation or parole success rate, the numbers of offenders under supervision at a given time, caseload levels, and payroll data; and (2) Demand information, consisting of information that can be generated when a report is required, such as the number of cases to be terminated during a 12-month period by offense, type of disposition, and month of termination. The agency administrator should be aware of both the capabilities and limitations of the system and should ensure that the information required for the successful operation of the agency is obtained.

3093 Written policy and procedure govern the security of the information and data collection system, including verification, access to data, and protection of the privacy of offenders.

Discussion: Procedures should be specified not only for verifying data before they are entered into the system, but also for determining what data are required. As with case files and records, written policy should specify those persons who have access to the information system.

3094 The agency or parent governmental organization collaborates with criminal justice and human service agencies in information gathering, exchange and standardization.

Discussion: System-wide collaboration is critical to efficient and effective management. The key to effective collaboration is standardization and sharing of information. The needs of probation and parole agencies are very similar, particularly with respect to the type and capabilities of services available in the community. Duplication of efforts and costs often can be avoided or reduced by exchange of information. While it is important that probation/parole agencies share information, it is also vital that they respect the confidentiality and privacy of parole records.

3095 There exists a written, standardized definition of recidivism, which is understood by all agency personnel using recidivism data.

Discussion: Recidivism is a useful criteria for evaluating probation/parole agencies and offender performance. The agency should develop a standard definition of recidivism that considers: the nature of events to be counted; the categories of behavior and degrees of seriousness to be included; the time of release (use of cohorts); and, the duration of the follow-up period.

3096 The agency measures performance on at least two levels: overall performance and achievement of more immediate program goals.

Discussion: A distinction is made here between system review and program review. In a system review, performance of the entire field organization in achieving its goals and objectives is the object of measurement. In a program review, effectiveness of a particular program in the achievement of an immediate objective is the object of measurement. Both types of review should be conducted at least biennially.

ACA Standards 3104 through 3111:

3104 Consistent with agency size, the agency supports and engages in research activities relevant to its programs.

Discussion: Research can assist the agency in establishing goals, objectives and plans for the future. Controlled experiments, evaluations and policy research can contribute to more efficient and effective supervision, conservation of resources and increased public safety. The agency administrator should solicit suggestions for research topics from staff, other criminal justice agencies, the private sector and academic community.

3105 The agency administrator and designated staff participate with researchers in deciding what questions should be addressed, what data should be gathered, and how that data should be presented.

Discussion: While it is important that the agency administrator and staff be guided by the best research capacity they can obtain, they should play an important role in shaping the direction of that research. Cooperation among operational and research personnel is required for determining research needs, establishing priorities among needs, and collecting and interpreting data gathered. This cooperation will ensure that the research is relevant and consistent with agency goals and objectives.

3106 The agency permits, encourages and uses internal research, as well as research conducted by outside professionals.

Discussion: Because of time or personnel constraints, agencies often cannot conduct internally all necessary research. They should, therefore, contract with responsible outside professionals. Often the agency will be asked to participate in research activities by other public agencies. To the extent that outside research activities do not interfere significantly with agency operations and useful results are anticipated, such activities should be encouraged.

3107 Where changes in agency practice may significantly affect the public safety, demonstration programs are used to determine how changes will impact on public safety and agency operations.

Discussion: Significant changes in agency practice should be supported by research evidence that public safety is undiminished and agency operations unimpaired. New programs should be initiated on a trial basis to permit scientific evaluation before they are expanded to the entire offender population.

3108 To supplement the fiscal resources made available by its own jurisdiction, the agency seeks fiscal support for its research from national and private funding agencies.

Discussion: Funds for research are available from a variety of public and private sources. These funds may supplement existing resources and increase research capacity.

3109 Written policy and procedure exist to ensure that the privacy of offenders and other parties will be maintained during all research.

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Discussion: Although it is important that agencies facilitate research, it is essential that they safeguard the privacy and interests of offenders, offenders' families, and other persons.

3110. Written policy and procedure specify the method for dissemination of research findings.

Discussion: Written policies and guidelines will prevent misunderstandings about the publication and dissemination of research results. As a general rule, research findings should be published and distributed regardless of the nature of the findings. Their publication can avoid duplication of effort elsewhere and provide for the sharing of knowledge and experience throughout the corrections field.

3111 Where the agency operates pretrial intervention services, these services are evaluated at least annually.

Discussion: Staff providing pretrial services should have the opportunity to participate in evaluating these services and programs. The evaluation should assist in determining the extent to which the service has achieved specific objectives. An effort should be made to identify the factors, both individual and social, which have a direct relationship to success in the program.

The last excerpt under these related topics is not a standard, but a recommendation by the NAC calling for a national research strategy plan.

> Federal granting agencies active in correctional research should join immediately in preparation of a coordinated research strategy in which general areas of interest and activity are delimited, objectives are specified, and research priorities declared. This strategy should be published and reviewed annually.
>
> The national research strategy should include at least the following four kinds of research support:
>
> 1. National Corrections Statistics. The National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice or some other body should initiate a consolidated annual report including data on population characteristics and movement of both adults and juveniles through detention and correctional facilities, probation, and parole. Exact dimensions of the report and the strategy required to achieve it should be developed by a representative group.
> 2. Maintenance of Program Standards. Emphasis should be placed on monitoring the implementation of national performance standards as recommended in this report. Funding agencies should pay close attention to the degree to which agencies adopt performance standards derived from objective

statistical measurement and the extent to which they are validated and utilized.

3. Study of Trends in Correctional Program Change. Leadership of funding agencies is indispensible to coordination of research. An effort should be made to coordinate research with changes occurring as new programs and policies develop.

4. Facilitation of Innovation. Supporting research should be planned and implemented at the same time program innovations are started. Funding agencies should require that the study of process begin at the beginning, instead of tolerating scattered explorations after programs are operating. While not every project will warrant its own internal research and evaluation component, experimentation with special evaluative teams to assist numerous agencies, special demonstration projects, and similar strategies should be explored. Funding agencies also should provide a continuing strategy for development. There should be a cycle in which review of the state of the art and development of research in relevant sciences are considered together so that specific areas for concentration in future research can be defined.

Summary

As we have seen, the three most recent collections of standards for probation - the American Bar Association (1970), the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals (1973), and the American Correctional Association (1977) - cover a wide range of topics. The standards of remarkably similar in many respects, although there are differences among them particularly in terms of scope, detail, and comprehensiveness.

Some of the major points of agreement and disagreement among the sets of standards are highlighted below.

- Both the ABA and the NAC recognize the trend toward defining probation as a sentence in itself, not involving suspension of imposition or execution of any other sentence.
- There is some disagreement on the proper placement of probation within the criminal justice system. The NAC argues for organizational placement within the executive branch of state

government. The ABA accepts either state or local administration but places probation in the judicial branch. All three sets of standards stress the importance of unity of administration and clear statutory authority for probation.

- The NAC and the ABA consider probation to be the sentence of choice, particularly for non-dangerous offenders. The ACA joins the NAC and ABA in urging that full probation services be extended to misdemeanants as well as felons.
- Although both the NAC and ABA recommend that the length of the probation sentence for felons should be specific and not exceed the maximum incarceration sentence prescribed by law, the NAC recommends a one-year probation period for misdemeanants, while the ABA suggests a two-year period.
- All three sets of standards propose systems of pre-revocation procedures to protect the probationer's right to due process. Both the NAC and ABA recommend that a revocation decision which is to be based upon the commission of a new crime should not be made before the probationer has been adjudged guilty of the new crime. The NAC also recommends that revocation decisions be subject to appellate review.
- Early termination from probation supervision is suggested by both the ABA and the ACA. The ABA believes that the decision to terminate probation supervision should rest with the sentencing court; however, the ACA emphasizes that the responsibility for recommending early termination should rest with the probation agency.
- The NAC and ABA recommend that the conditions of probation be set by the sentencing court, and that the conditions be

reasonable and realistic.

- A minimum educational requirement of a bachelor's degree for probation officers is recommended by the ABA, NAC, and ACA. The ABA also suggests the need for either post-graduate study or work experience in a related field. The ACA includes a recommendation supporting the recruitment of paraprofessionals and ex-offenders.
- All three sets of standards stress the importance of providing for the delivery of needed services to probationers. The concept of the probation officer as a community resource manager and as an advocate for the needs of probationers is implicit in all the standards.
- All of the standards agree on the importance of accurate and complete presentence investigation reports in all felony cases and in all cases in which the defendant is under twenty-one or is a minor. Similarly, all preclude the initiation of a presentence investigation prior to adjudication of guilt, except under specific circumstances. The ABA and NAC support disclosure of the contents of the presentence report to the defendant, defense counsel, and prosecutor.
- The importance of research in probation agencies is stressed by all three sets of standards. The NAC and ABA also recommend the development of agency and state level information systems.
- The NAC recommends a national research strategy with four major areas of emphasis: compiling national corrections statistics, monitoring the implementation of national performance standards, studying trends in correctional program change, and facilitating innovative correctional programs.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER XI

[1] American Bar Association, Standards Relating to Probation (New York, New York: American Bar Association, Project on Standards for Criminal Justice, 1970).

[2] American Bar Association, Standards Relating to Sentencing (New York, New York: American Bar Association, Project on Standards for Criminal Justice, 1968).

[3] National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, Corrections (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973).

[4] American Correctional Association, Manual of Standards for Adult Probation and Parole Field Services (College Park, Maryland: American Correctional Association, 1977).

[5] American Law Institute, Model Penal Code (1962), in Compendium of Model Correctional Legislation and Standards, Second Edition (Washington, D.C.: American Bar Association, for the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, 1975).

[6] National Council on Crime and Delinquency, Standard Probation and Parole Act (Paramus, New Jersey: National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 1955).

[7] National Advisory Commission, ibid., p. 312.

[8] Compendium of Model Correctional Legislation and Standards, ibid., pp. 111-113.

[9] American Correctional Association, ibid., p. XX.

[10] Ibid., p. XIX.

SUMMARY

In the Introduction of this Technical Issue Paper, we briefly discussed two recent Reports to the Congress prepared by the Comptroller General of the United States. The first report, State and County Probation: Systems in Crisis, had a strong impact on policy-makers, particularly at the federal level, since the report stresses the need for positive leadership and assistance by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. It was apparent that a broad, comprehensive review of what is known about adult probation in the United States would be a necessary first step toward the development of the recommended federal leadership and assistance. Our entire study, with all of the Technical Issue Papers covering the various aspects of probation, was begun as a direct response to the first Comptroller General's report, in an attempt to provide this knowledge base.

The first Comptroller General's report focused on probation at the state and local levels. The second report, Probation and Parole Activities Need to Be Better Managed, dealt with the federal probation system. As the title of the second report indicates, the focal point of both reports was the management of probation services. In this Technical Issue Paper, we have concentrated on the available literature which addresses the various facets of probation management. In so doing, we have tried to present all of the research findings which are relevant to management issues, as well as confronting the specific problem areas highlighted in both reports of the Comptroller General.

In our report, we have discussed both commonly-used and innovative techniques of probation management. For each area of our discussions,

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we have tried to explore the rationale behind the management concern, the potential implications for the probation agency of alternative techniques, operational examples of various techniques, and research findings which assess the efficiency or effectiveness of the techniques. In this Summary, we will condense the material which was presented in detail above and will try, where appropriate, to draw out any conclusions which can be supported by available research.

Locus of Probation Administration

The question of the proper organizational placement of probation has two dimensions:

1. To what extent should the provision of probation services be centralized? Should probation services be completely centralized at the state level, or should probation be de-centralized, with services provided entirely by independent county or municipal agencies?
2. Should probation reside in the judicial branch of government under the control of the courts, or should it be placed in the executive branch of government under the control of elected or appointed political officials?

With respect to the centralization/decentralization question, we found many arguments supporting both positions. The most frequently-cited arguments in favor of centralization are: a state-administered system is free of local political consideration; it can develop uniform policies and procedures, leading to a greater likelihood that the same level of services will be provided to all clients in all areas; it contributes to greater efficiency in the disposition of resources; and state administration historically has been in the forefront of developing innovative programs, demonstration projects, and correctional research. On the other hand, numerous arguments are cited by those who favor the de-centralized arrangements: local programs can generally develop better support from local citizens and agencies; because local programs are smaller, they can be more flexible and less bound by bureaucratic rigidity and are thus able to experiment with new methods and procedures; and staff members, working for a local agency, are more likely to be thoroughly familiar with the local community.

Agencies which are highly decentralized are generally characterized by participation, access, and responsiveness; agencies which are centralized are characterized by efficiency, professionalism, and the use of more advanced technologies. Although the current trend in corrections in general appears to be in the direction of centralization, as we saw, several states are attempting to take advantage of the benefits of both arrangements by the strategies of standard-setting at the state level, provision of and training for personnel by the state government, and direct financial subsidy payments by the state to local agencies who keep offenders in the community on probation rather than sending them to state-financed correctional institutions.

The second dimension of the probation placement question deals with the location of probation administration in the judicial or executive branch of government. Arguments advanced in support of placement of probation administration in the judicial branch include: probation can be more responsive to court direction; the court can acquire automatic feedback on the effectiveness of probation as a sentencing alternative; and probation administration should reside with the courts, since the greatest flow of work for a probation agency comes from the courts. On the other hand, proponents of placement in the executive branch advance these arguments: since all other sub-systems which carry out court dispositions of offenders are in the executive branch, inclusion of probation could ensure closer coordination of programs, more rational allocation of staff, and increase access to the budget process and the establishment of priorities.

Research by the Council of State Governments also recognized the trend toward centralization of probation administration. Administrators should be aware, however, that their placement in a unified corrections system will present both advantages and disadvantages. They may benefit from the overall increase in funding for corrections, from more sophisticated information systems, and from greater visibility to the state legislature. The price for these benefits, however, may be the loss of their independent status, a consequent limitation in policy-making discretion, escalating political pressure on controversial programs, and possible loss of financial resources to institutional programs.

Roles of Probation Officers

Several very similar typologies describing the various roles of probation officers have been developed. The roles generally included in these typologies are:

1. The Punitive/Law Enforcement Officer, whose primary concern is the protection of the community through control of the probationer.
2. The Welfare/Therapeutic Officer, whose primary concern is the improved welfare of the probationer.
3. The Protective/Synthetic Officer, who attempts to effect a blend of treatment and law enforcement.
4. The Passive/Time Server Officer, who has little concern for

the welfare of the community or the probationer, but sees his job merely as a sinecure, requiring a minimum amount of effort.

In addition to these typologies, quasi-judicial, integrative, and counseling roles have been identified. With respect to the self-image of probation officers, several research studies report similar findings. These studies found that most probation officers identify with the general field of corrections, and consider probation work to be an autonomous entity, not to be confused with other criminal justice agencies or functions. Another study of the appropriateness of probation activities suggested that probation officers believe that referral, counseling, and guidance functions are the most appropriate activities, while detection and apprehension of probation violators and enforcing community standards of behavior were considered generally inappropriate. Finally, one study tested the hypothesis that probation officers who had different role perceptions (advocate, counselor, or enforcer) would also have different levels of job satisfaction; the results of the study refuted the hypothesis and also demonstrated that, even with a small sample of probation officers, there was a lack of consensus regarding which of the three possible roles was the most appropriate.

Issues in Caseload Management

A number of issues in caseload management were identified and discussed separately, although in reality they are closely inter-related. These issues were: caseload assignment techniques, differentiated levels of supervision, generalized vs. specialized caseloads, single officer caseloads vs. team caseloads, the casework vs. the brokerage approach, functional specialization, and the concept of workload.

We saw that there are five major caseload assignment models: the conventional model, the numbers game model, the conventional model with geographic consideration, and single factor specialized model, and the vertical model. Each model has implications for the administration of the probation agency with respect to personnel, training, and selection of supervision strategies.

Supervision strategies concern how the individual caseloads are handled after the probationer population has been assigned. One strategy involves varying the level of supervision of probationers. It is believed that while some probationers may actually need very minimal supervision, others will require intensive supervision. Assignment to the different levels of supervision is generally based upon an assessment of risk or classification by type of offense. The assumption behind intensive supervision is that decreased caseload size will lead to increased contact between the probation officer and the probationers, resulting in improved service delivery and more efficient treatment, which will effect a reduction in recidivism. We saw that, while research indicates that intensive supervision does lead to increased contact between the probation officer and the probationers, there has been no research which attempts to assess the quality of those contacts. For those probationers who require few or no special services and pose little threat to community safety, minimum supervision has been used. This type of supervision is seen as "crisis supervision," since the contact between the probation officer and the probationer may be limited to a monthly written report unless a specific request for services is made. One of the major problems attendant upon the development of a system of differentiated supervision is the determination of an adequate and accurate technique for risk or need

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classification. There is also a need to isolate and identify the factors in the probation officer/probationer relationship which define the quality of contact.

A second caseload management issue concerns the use of generalized caseloads, where each probation officer supervises a heterogeneous caseload, or specialized caseload, where caseloads are comprised of one specific type of offender. Since most probation departments follow the generalized caseload model, only the research on specialized units or caseloads was examined. We looked at research directed at specialized units dealing with drug abusers, ethnic group members, mentally deficient probationers, alcohol abusers, and sex offenders and assaultive offenders. The general conclusions from this research, much of which is descriptive, seem to be that specialized units can be relatively effective with target probationers, as long as the referrals to the special unit are appropriate, and that these probationers can be offered special services which they might not otherwise receive. Several studies, however, raised the point that pre-planning is extremely important, along with the establishment of specific acceptance criteria and better communications with referral sources.

Another type of caseload management strategy is the use of single officer caseloads or team caseloads. The single officer caseload has been closely associated with the casework approach to supervision, in which the emphasis is on the development of a personalized, one-to-one relationship with the individual members of his caseload. The team model, which is frequently associated with the brokerage approach, emphasizes both the diversity of needs of probationers and the diversity of probation officer skills which can be assembled in one team. Virtually no research comparing the effectiveness or efficiency of single officer and team caseloads was located. Community Resource Management Teams, which have emerged in the past few years, have been widely publicized, but have not yet been evaluated.

Closely associated with the single officer vs. team caseload question is the issue of the proper approach to probation supervision and service provision. The two major approaches are casework and brokerage, which were briefly described above in connection with single officer caseloads and team caseloads. It should be noted, however, that the casework approach can also be used with a team model and the brokerage approach can be used by a single probation officer. As with the single officer and team models, we found a wealth of descriptive material covering the assumptions, rationales, and operations of both casework and brokerage, however, no research comparing the effectiveness, efficiency, or cost of these approaches was available.

The fifth management issue discussed was the question of specialization by function. Functional specialization refers to the practice of grouping the tasks and activities of probation into relatively discrete functions (such as investigation or supervision) and assigning each probation officer to one or the other function. The only material available concerning functional specialization was a review of the arguments for and against the technique; the assumptions behind the use of the technique have yet to be evaluated.

Finally, we examined the concept of workload. This concept is based on the idea that not all offenders require the same amount or type of supervision and that different probation functions, such as presentence investigations or supervision, cannot be equated on a one-to-one basis. The workload concept, thus, shifts the focus from the raw number of cases in a caseload and the number of presentence investigations to be performed to the amount of time needed to perform each activity. All the activities are then weighted and added together to derive the maximum workload for

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an individual officer. We examined six projects which have operationalized the workload system, with particular emphasis on the allotment of time to various activities and the derivation of the workload standards. Unfortunately, we do not yet know about the impact of the workload concept on the probation agency, probation officers, or probation clients.

Provision of Probation Services

The provision of needed services to its probationers is one of the most improtant functions of any probation agency. Our review of the available literature revealed two dominant service provision strategies - casework and brokerage through community resource management. The casework approach stresses the role of the probation officer in service provision; it is assumed that the probation officer will be the primary agent of treatment and is capable of handling all of the multi-faceted needs of a large number of offenders. The brokerage approach, on the other hand, emphasizes the assessment of client needs and the linkage of available community services with those needs. The primary task of the probation officer is to locate existing community resources which can benefit his probationers and to link the probationer with the community social service agency.

Another emerging service provision strategy is contracting. Under this arrangement, the probation agency and another social service program enter into a legal contract which binds the probation agency to pay the social service agency for services provided to probationers. A wide variety of services, such as drug and alcohol abuse treatment, employment, education, and mental health services, can be provided to probationers under these contracts.

Our review of research reports revealed several operational examples of strategies designed for the purpose of service provision. One program which concentrated on securing employment, education, and training opportunities for unemployed and underemployed probationers by intensive use of existing community resources reported achieving modest gains in the employment status of its experimental group members, as opposed to a control group of comparable probationers, however, it appeared that the margin of improvement exhibited by the experimental group over the control group diminished rapidly with time.

A state Health and Social Services Department prepared a comprehensive assessment of probationer needs and developed guidelines for all local probation offices to use in providing services for those needs. The assessed needs were categorized as: academic/vocational skills, employment, financial management, marital/family relationships, companions, emotional stability, alcohol usage, drug abuse, mental ability, and health. Within each category, the department listed all community resources which could be utilized for a particular need and, where appropriate, presented information concerning the exact type and range of services available, the name of the contact person in each community resource program, and the referral procedure which must be followed.

Finally, several Community Resource Management Teams have been operationalized. The CRMT's combine the team supervision approach with a brokerage strategy for service provision. Under this arrangement, each probation officer in a team specializes in a specific area of probationer needs and thoroughly familiarizes himself with all community resources which address that specific need. It is the responsibility of the probation officer to link the probationer with the community resource which can provide needed services and to ensure that the services are actually delivered.

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Aside from preliminary descriptive reports which discuss some of the implementation and operational problems of the CRMT's, evaluation of this service provision strategy has not yet become available.

The Use of Paraprofessionals in Probation

The use of paraprofessionals, including ex-offenders, in probation has developed in response to the perceived need to establish more effective relationships and communication with probation clients. It is believed that individuals who are similar to probationers in terms of social class, ethnic group membership, area of residence, and other characteristics would be better able to communicate with and understand the problems of probation clients than professional probation officers. The use of ex-offenders as paraprofessionals is justified on the grounds that a successful ex-offender can serve as a positive role model for the offender on probation.

Paraprofessionals are generally used as a supplement to, rather than a substitute for, regular professional probation officers. Initially, they are ordinarily limited to the performance of surveillance-related tasks; as they become more familiar with their roles, however, they widen the scope of their tasks to include assisting the client in meeting concrete and emotional needs, participating in counseling activities, and performing investigations.

The three research studies which attempted to assess the effectiveness of paraprofessionals in probation presented quite similar findings. Keeping in mind the fact that paraprofessionals generally work with smaller caseloads than regular probation officers, the studies reported that the paraprofessionals were at least as effective as regular probation officers and tended to be somewhat more effective with high risk probationers.

One study noted that, since paraprofessionals were used to supplement regular probation officers, it was more expensive to provide supervision by a probation officer supplemented by a paraprofessional than simply to use probation officers alone; no cost analyses dealing with paraprofessionals used as substitutes for probation officers were found.

The Use of Volunteers in Probation

There has been a great resurgence in recent years in the use of volunteers in probation. Volunteers have been used to amplify probation supervision, to broaden the scope of services offered to probationers, and to assist probation officers with routine administrative duties.

The effectiveness of volunteers in probation projects has been measured in several ways. Keeping in mind the fact that data collection methods and outcome definitions varied considerably, the research results which assessed recidivism rates or social adjustment appear to be mixed. We found eight studies which indicated that the volunteer projects were successful or had a positive impact on the success indicators and seven studies which found neutral or negative effects. There is, therefore, no clear-cut evidence that volunteer programs are any more successful than any other program in reducing recidivism or in having a positive effect on social adjustment.

We found three studies which attempted to compute the cost/effectiveness of volunteer projects. Although none of the analyses considered all of the potential indirect costs of the projects, all three reported that large gross direct savings were indicated. There were very few studies which attempted to demonstrate that the use of volunteers effected a reduction in probation officer caseload. Of these studies, three indicated marked reductions, one indicated no effect on caseload size, and one indicated that the volunteer project increased the probation officer's workload since the probation officer had to supervise volunteers as well as his own caseload of probationers.

Education and Training of Probation Officers

There are two major dimensions to the issue of education and training of probation officers. These dimensions are the educational backgrounds of the individuals who will become probation officers, and the appropriate nature of in-service training provided to probation officers.

Very little research has been done in the area of the proper educational background for prospective probation officers. Not only do standards and state statutes vary considerably on this question, but there is also a lack of consensus regarding a definition of "probation officer competency," which is necessary before attempting to ascertain what type of educational background would have the most positive impact on competency. There has been some exploratory work in this area, however, the results have been mixed. While some research indicates that the type of educational background or area of study has no effect on probation officer attitudes and performance, other research contradicts this position. Whatever the value of college or graduate level education, regardless of area of study, some research does suggest that the attitudes and practices of officers with different educational backgrounds tend to become quite similar within a relatively short period of time.

There is more research concerning the two major types of in-service training which probation agencies offer their officers. Almost all probation departments require their new officers to attend orientation training but, at least in one instance, the orientation training was provided long after the new officers had begun their duties. In-service developmental training is offered less frequently than orientation training and tends to concentrate on specialized treatment modalities or on management skills. Several studies of orientation and developmental training echoed a finding concerning educational background that the effects of such training tended to wear off as time on the job increased.

Time Studies in Probation

A number of time studies of probation officers' activities have been conducted in order to determine just how probation officers spend their time. In a rough comparison of the results of seven time studies (which covered the activities of federal, state, and county probation officers), the evidence suggests that probation officers devote approximately one-third of their working time to presentence investigations, from two-fifths to one-half of their working time to supervision, and the remainder of their time to activities classified as "other," which includes, among other things, administrative duties.

Several studies discovered that probation officers spend from one-half to two-thirds of their time in their own office, and from one-fourth to two-fifths of their time in the field. Significant portions of working time were classified as either "paperwork" or "non-case related" activities.

It appears from a review of the available literature that very little use has been made of time studies. Some agencies report that other approaches which attempt to analyse the functional characteristics of an individual's job would be more productive.

Information Systems

Two models for information systems were identified: administrative management information systems and caseload management information systems.

Administrative management information systems serve three functions: to control and coordinate employee behavior, to provide information for long-term planning, and to provide information to external groups. These systems have the capability of generating point in time reports, period in time reports, and notification reports which are automatically initiated by conditions which vary from previously-established standards. The attempts to institute administrative management information systems have been sporadic and incomplete; one prototype system was found which exhibited most of the features of the AMIS model, however, it had not yet been adopted on a statewide basis.

Caseload management information systems utilize information for line level decision-making. The functions of this type of information system are: to control clientele behavior, to provide information for individual line worker planning, and to provide information for management use. A CMIS model is designed to provide information on task accomplishment: who participated in which program, to what extent, whether all program activities are available, and outcome measures. The adoption of a statewide or national CMIS is hindered by the lack of uniformity and standardization of data collection formats and statistics. Several projects have examined the feasibility of statewide, multi-state, and nationwide uniform data collection systems. The results of these projects clearly indicate that implementation of these standardized CMIS systems could be achieved.

Cost Analyses

Cost/benefit analyses are one method of evaluating an existing program and providing information which can assist in assessing its net worth. This type of analysis allows us to examine the economic implications of a program but does not consider the sociological measures (such as recidivism or social adjustment) which are more commonly used. One model for cost-benefit analyses of alternative correctional dispositions stresses the pertinence of these analyses, since they permit the combination of costs and benefits from three different points of view: the governmental point of view, the societal point of view, and the individual offender's point of view. Cost/benefit analyses, however, must be rigorous and comprehensive in order to generate useful information.

Two studies compared the use of probation or field services to incarceration. One study, which looked at both the costs and benefits of probation as opposed to incarceration, concluded that the use of probation rather than incarceration followed by parole, would result in a statewide yearly saving of almost $5.75 million. The second study compared only the cost of incarceration with the cost of field services. The findings indicated that the use of probation and parole alternatives over incarceration would result in a statewide yearly saving of $871,000. This study did not attempt to calculate benefits.

Two other studies looked at specific programs offered by county and municipal probation departments. One study evaluated a program of vocational upgrading by comparing the net costs and benefits accruing to probationers participating in the program with a control group of non-participating probationers. The results indicated that the program appeared to be cost/effective if the program effects lasted longer than one year. The other study compared only the costs of three types of probation supervision. The findings showed that team supervision costs almost three times as much as volunteer supervision and that traditional supervision costs almost twice as much as team supervision.

Standards for Probation

We looked at the three most recent sources of standards for probation (the American Bar Association's Standards Relating to Probation and Standards Relating to Sentencing, published in 1970 and 1968; the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals' Standards for Corrections, published in 1973; and the American Correctional Association's Manual of Standards for Adult Probation and Parole Field Services, published in 1977) and compared the individual standards by the following categories: definition of probation, administration and organization of probation, criteria for probation, revocation procedures, termination and discharge, conditions, qualifications for persons providing probation services, services to probationers, presentence activities, and case records, management information systems, and research.

Our comparison revealed marked similarities in the three sets of standards in may respects, although there are differences among them in terms of scope, detail, and comprehensiveness.

Final Note

This review of issues in probation management has been based on the available literature. It has emphasized assumptions, rationales, operations, and research. We are confronted now with the dilemma of trying to extract definitive answers to some of the questions raised by the issues we have discussed.

- If we ask what is the proper location for probation administration, we find that there are strong arguments for centralized administration, for de-centralized administration, for placement in the executive branch of government, and for placement in the judicial branch of government. It appears that this question is not amenable to a definitive answer; what is important is a thorough consideration of the trade-offs which characterize each alternative. Neither is the question amenable to experimental research. But it is clear that comprehensive, descriptive studies of the experiences of agencies placed in different administrative locations could assist in accurately and completely delineating the advantages and disadvantages of each location.

- If we ask which probation officer role is most appropriate, we must answer that research has not yet been done in this area. Evidence does suggest that probation officers consider some activities to be more appropriate than others, but that role perception has nothing to do with job satisfaction. Research is also needed to determine whether role preference has any impact on client outcome indicators.
- If we ask which caseload management strategies have been shown to be more effective or efficient, we must answer that too little research has been done in this area to come to any definite conclusion. We know that some studies have determined that the level of supervision intensity can be varied, resulting in more or fewer contacts between the probation officer and the probationer, however, we still know very little about either an adequate procedure for classifying offenders by risk or need or about the nature and quality of the contacts. Some research also suggests that specialized caseloads can be effective, as long as the criteria for acceptance into the specialized caseloads are explicit. Research is clearly needed to evaluate the effectiveness, efficiency, and cost of single officer vs. team caseloads, the casework vs. the

brokerage approach to supervision and service provision, and functional specialization. We have examined several examples of workload derivation procedures, but research on the impact of the implementation of such a system has not yet been done.

- If we ask whether needed services are being provided to probationers, we must answer that research indicates that they are not. Studies suggest that probationers who do receive needed services have a greater chance of successfully completing probation, but that adequate needs assessments are not attempted and, consequently, most probationers do not receive the services they need. Several new and promising service provision strategies are emerging, but they have not yet been adequately evaluated.
- If we ask whether paraprofessionals can be effectively used in probation, the research suggests that they can be at least as effective as professional probation officers and perhaps even more effective with "high risk" probationers. This suggestion must be considered tentative, however, because of the small number of research efforts in this area.
- If we ask whether volunteers can be effectively used in probation, the research produces mixed results. Some research finds volunteers having a positive effect on outcome indicators, while other research finds neutral or even negative effects.
- If we ask how effective the education and training of probation officers is, we must answer that, in order to gauge effectiveness, we must first agree on a definition of probation officer competency. The little research available concerning education and training suggests that whatever value different educational

backgrounds and in-service training experiences may have, that value tends to diminish relatively rapidly over time. A review of the literature and research on education and training highlights the problem that we must first definitively agree on what it is that probation officers are expected to be able to do before we can decide what kind of educational background is required and what types of in-service training will be offered.

- If we ask how probation officers actually spend their time, we find that they are most frequently in their own offices, alone, occupied with paperwork. Since we have a fairly clear picture of the allotment of probation officer time to specific activities, we now need to link the achievement of those activities to the objectives of probation work. Research could also investigate the necessity of spending a significant amount of time on such activities as paperwork, travel, and administrative duties.
- If we ask what kinds of probation information are currently available, we find that local and state probation departments keep a great deal of information, but it is not kept in systematic or comparable form. There is no national compilation of probation statistics. Research does indicated, however, that uniform data collection and statistics on a statewide, multistate, or national level are feasible.
- If we ask how the cost of probation compares to the cost of alternative dispositions, we find that probation is considerably cheaper than incarceration, particularly when the benefits of allowing the offender to remain in the community are added in. There are problems with the available cost/benefit research, however, because cost/benefit analyses are time-consuming and

methodologically demanding.

- If we ask what effect the various sets of standards have had on the management of probation, we must answer that we do not know. Research looking at attempts to upgrade probation administration to meet standards would be productive, as well as research assessing the impact of meeting or exceeding standards on client outcome indicators.

As a general conclusion about the state of knowledge about probation administration, we find that current research in some areas *is* uncovering some answers to probation management questions, but there are still a number of critical, fundamental questions which have yet to be addressed. When that research is done, it is crucial that the research design and methodology be appropriate in order to ensure that the research findings will be of value and will add to our knowledge.

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